

# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

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HENRY T. ROWELL

LUDWIG EDELSTEIN, KEMP MALONE  
BENJAMIN D. MERITT, JAMES H. OLIVER  
EVELYN H. CLIFT: Secretary

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WITH AN INDEX TO VOLUMES LXI-LXXV

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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE *AENEID*.

All readers of the *Aeneid* are conscious of the attention which Vergil has given to the structural framework of his poem. Each book is a unit, but each fits into its place as a part of a greater unity and contributes meaning to the epic as a whole. The poet's efforts to achieve variety, symmetry, and contrast have been noted by many Vergilian scholars both in small episodes and in the larger portions of his work.<sup>1</sup> But the tendency, unfortunately all too prevalent, to look upon the *Aeneid* as a Roman *Odyssey* of wanderings followed by a less interesting Roman *Iliad* of war has distorted and obscured the structure of the poem for many readers. Mackail is correct in saying that "neither of the two halves, Books I-VI and Books VII-XII, is a substantive epic by itself," that the whole poem "is a continuous and ordered movement towards which the successive scenes are subordinated."<sup>2</sup> The last six books form, as Vergil himself states (VII, 44 f.), a *maior rerum ordo*, a *maius opus*; they have far greater unity and coherence than the first six books, and only in them can the true meaning and purpose of the poet be seen.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e. g., H. W. Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (Chicago, 1927), p. 440, on the arrangement of material in Books VII-XII: "His artistic aims in this distribution may be comprehended in the two words, symmetry and variety."

<sup>2</sup> J. W. Mackail, "The *Aeneid* as a Work of Art," *C. J.*, XXVI (1930-31), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. E. Duckworth, "Turnus as a Tragic Character," *Vergilius*, 4 (1940), p. 5. On the value of the last six books, see also W. H. Alexander, "Maius Opus," *Univ. Cal. Pub. Class. Philol.*, XIV (1951), pp. 193-214.

The title of this paper will recall that of a lecture by R. S. Conway which he published more than twenty years ago,<sup>4</sup> and the resemblance of title is intentional. Much that I wish to say derives from and is an expansion of Conway's views concerning the alternation and the correspondence of the various books. According to Conway, Vergil's "love of alternation has shaped the structure of the *Aeneid* in two ways: (a) by the contrast which the poet has made between every pair of consecutive Books, and (b) by the correspondence and contrast between each of the Books in the first half of the poem and the Book in the corresponding place in the second half."<sup>5</sup>

Before applying these two principles to the *Aeneid*, it will be instructive to turn to the *Eclogues*, where a similar desire for effective contrasts may be seen.<sup>6</sup> More than one type of alternation has been pointed out for the ten pastoral poems; those with odd numbers have Italian, local scenery, while those with even numbers have scenery beyond Italy, scenery that is more ideal;<sup>7</sup> also, the odd-numbered poems are dialogues, the even-numbered are monologues (or, in the case of VIII, two monologues); that is, we find here a clear-cut alternation between dramatic and non-dramatic poems.<sup>8</sup> Such alternations should not be looked upon as merely an artificial or mechanical grouping, but rather as the result of an artistic aim to provide effective

<sup>4</sup> "The Architecture of the Epic," *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), pp. 129-49. This was a revision of an earlier lecture on the same subject which appeared in *Bull. John Rylands Library*, IX (1925), pp. 481-500. All references to Conway, unless otherwise specified, will be to the *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age*.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>6</sup> I shall not discuss the balanced structure of the *Georgics* (with two panels, I-II and III-IV), which attains the heights of poetic artistry but provides a less striking parallel to the framework of the *Aeneid*; cf. Conway's remarks on the *Georgics*, *op. cit.*, p. 139, and see D. L. Drew, "The Structure of Vergil's *Georgics*," *A. J. P.*, L (1929), pp. 242-54; L. Richardson, Jr., *Poetical Theory in Republican Rome* (New Haven, 1944), pp. 132-63.

<sup>7</sup> Conway, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f., 139; on this see E. K. Rand, *The Magical Art of Virgil* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 89 f., 160 ff.

<sup>8</sup> This has been noticed by many writers; cf., e.g., A. Cartault, *Étude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile* (Paris, 1897), pp. 53 f.; A. Klotz, "Das Ordnungsprinzip in Vergils *Bucolica*," *Rhein. Mus.*, LXIV (1909), pp. 325-7.

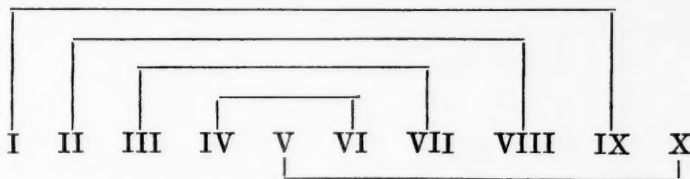


contrasts within the larger unity. Richardson has pointed out an additional type of balanced alternation, that between interest in subject—high at the beginning (I), the middle of the collection (IV, V, VI) and the end (IX, X)—and interest in form—high where interest in subject is low (II, III; VII, VIII) but also high in the middle (IV, V) and at the end (X); thus interest in both form and subject center about V, "the central panel of the grouping"; Richardson adds: "guarding against a failure of interest at the end of the book, he finishes the collection with a superb coda, the elegy of Gallus."<sup>9</sup>

These contrasts in each pair of consecutive *Eclogues*—contrasts of scenery, of form, of type of interest aroused—are only one feature of Vergil's interest in the structural arrangement of the poems. More significant is the fact that certain *Eclogues* in the second half of the collection correspond to poems in the first half, and in reverse order; a brief outline will make this clear:

- I and IX: country life and the confiscations of territory
- II and VIII: the passion of love
- III and VII: music; responsive singing matches
- IV and VI: loftier themes of religion and philosophy; the world to come (IV), the world that was (VI)

These eight *Eclogues* thus form a frame about V, the songs concerning the dead and deified Daphnis.<sup>10</sup> As V honors the shepherd who became a god, so X, a later addition to the collection, honors Cornelius Gallus, the friend who appears as a shepherd. There seems little doubt that the first nine *Eclogues* form a complete and harmonious whole, with X added, not only to honor Vergil's friend Gallus, but also partly, as Richardson suggests, to heighten the interest at the end of the collection, and partly to provide a poem to balance V. The arrangement is as follows:



<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. E. Krause, *Quibus temporibus quoque ordine Vergilius eclogas scripserit* (Berlin, 1884), pp. 6 f.; his analysis was rejected by Cartault, *op. cit.*, p. 53, n. 2.

This curious correspondence between *Eclogues* I-IV and VI-IX has been developed by Maury into what he terms a "bucolic chapel," with four poems on each side, like columns, leading the way to V, the central and most important poem, the shrine where Caesar is honored in the guise of the deified Daphnis; X, when added, places Gallus, the suffering mortal, at the entrance to the chapel.<sup>11</sup>

Miss Hahn's analysis is quite different; she arranges the first nine *Eclogues* in triads and views X as a final poem blending the shepherds and the realism of Triads One (I, II, III) and Three (VII, VIII, IX) with the gods and fantasy of Triad Two (IV, V, VI).<sup>12</sup> But she too is conscious of the close relationship between I and IX, II and VIII, III and VII, IV and VI, and Triad Two, containing "the grander, more cosmic themes,"<sup>13</sup> has V as its central poem—a place of honor similar to that in Maury's scheme. It should be noted too that Miss Hahn likewise believes that Daphnis is to be identified with Caesar.<sup>14</sup>

This discussion of the artistic grouping of the *Eclogues* is far from being a digression; on the contrary, it contributes directly to Conway's theory of the architecture of the *Aeneid*. In his arrangement of the *Eclogues* Vergil has clearly been motivated

<sup>11</sup> P. Maury, "Le Secret de Virgile et l'architecture des Bucoliques," *Lettres d'Humanité*, III (1944), pp. 71-147. I cannot discuss here Maury's surprising conclusions concerning Vergil's Neopythagoreanism and his use of mathematical symmetries and symbolism, e.g., that the total number of verses of *Eclogues* I, II, VIII, and IX is 333, that of III, IV, VI, and VII likewise equals 333; thus the eight poems surrounding V total 666, the numerical value of the names KAICAP and ΓΑΛΛΟC, the god honored in V and the man honored in X (and, incidentally, the number of the Beast in Revelation, 13, 16-18). A. M. Guillemin (*Virgile, Poète, Artiste et Penseur* [Paris, 1951], p. 10) calls Maury's lengthy article on the *Bucolics* "une étude des plus curieuses," but cf. J. Perret (*Virgile, l'homme et l'oeuvre* [Paris, 1952], p. 18): "La découverte de M. P. Maury est une des plus importantes qui aient été faites dans le domaine des études virgiliennes depuis bien longtemps." For a more recent investigation of Pythagoreanism in Vergil's poetry, see G. Le Grelle, S. J., "Le premier livre des *Géorgiques*, poème pythagoricien," *Les Études Class.*, XVII (1949), pp. 139-235.

<sup>12</sup> E. A. Hahn, "The Characters in the *Eclogues*," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXXV (1944), pp. 239-41.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 214-17.



by a desire (1) to alternate the character of the poems and (2) to have a definite correspondence between the poems of the first half and those of the second half of the collection. These are the two features which Conway finds in the structure of the *Aeneid*. Conway noted the alternation of the *Eclogues* but apparently failed to see the correspondence, although the latter provides an equally interesting parallel to the structure of the *Aeneid* as he envisages it.

Conway considers the alternation in the character of the books "the real division of the *Aeneid*," and adds: "The books with odd numbers show what we may call the lighter or Odyssean type; the books with the even numbers reflect the graver colour of the *Iliad*."<sup>15</sup> This is very different from the frequent division of the *Aeneid* into two parts—an *Odyssey* of wanderings and an *Iliad* of war, but seems basically correct. Conway perhaps overstates the amount of humor and frivolity in the odd-numbered books, but the books of greatest tragedy and deepest significance are undoubtedly those with even numbers. Application of the principle to the second half of the *Aeneid* has been doubted,<sup>16</sup> and IX and XI are in many respects of graver import than the corresponding books, III and V, but the principle seems sound when we compare IX and XI with the more serious nature of VIII, X, and XII. In a later lecture Conway points out that each of the even-numbered books ends in a climax (II and IV in tragedy, VI and VIII in revelation, X and XII in triumph); he sees also an alternation of "the methods and motives of epic poetry with those of Greek tragedy,"<sup>17</sup> since the books with even numbers conform more to the orthodox requirements of tragedy as established by Aristotle.

To support his theory that the books of the second half correspond to those of the first half, Conway lists numerous similarities and contrasts,<sup>18</sup> of which the following seem the most significant:

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Miss Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 239, n. 239.

<sup>17</sup> "Vergil's Creative Art," *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XVII (1931), p. 25. Conway says (pp. 24 f.) that "none of the Books with odd numbers can be said to end in a climax, though there is a pause in the story." See W. F. J. Knight, "Integration of Plot in the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius*, 6 (1940), pp. 20 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age*, pp. 139 f.

- I and VII: arrival in a strange land; friendship offered
- II and VIII: each the story of a city—one destroyed by Greeks, the other to be founded with the help of Greeks
- III and IX: Aeneas inactive and action centers around Anchises (III); Aeneas absent and action centers around Ascanius (IX)
- IV and X: Aeneas in action—conflict between love and duty (IV); conflict with the enemy (X)
- V and XI: each begins with funeral ceremonies and ends with death—Palinurus (V) and Camilla (XI)
- VI and XII: Aeneas receives his commission in VI, executes it in XII.

As Conway says, these parallel features seem too numerous to be due merely to accident.

Conway looks upon VI as the "crowning Book, which Vergil has placed in the centre, to unite all that stand before it and all that stand after"; it is "the keystone of the whole poem" and "contributes a sense of unity to the epic."<sup>19</sup> Aeneas' visit to the underworld is thus very different in function as well as in content from that of Odysseus' interview of the shades in the *Odyssey*, an incidental episode which lacks the philosophical, religious, and national significance which Vergil has given to *Aeneid* VI.

A re-examination of Conway's position seems necessary, for in recent years several Vergilian scholars have made new and interesting contributions to the study of the structure of the *Aeneid*. Tracy analyzes I-VI, showing how each book has a distinct pattern, with its own thematic treatment and balanced arrangement of moods, with color and tone values set in deliberate contrast.<sup>20</sup> Mendell makes clear that Catullus and the neoterics had a definite influence upon Vergil's workmanship in the *Aeneid*, inasmuch as many episodes in the epic reveal a symmetrical framing of the action around a central focal point, usually a significant speech or a scene of emotional tension.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 143. Cf. also Prescott, *op. cit.*, pp. 360 f.

<sup>20</sup> H. L. Tracy, "The Pattern of Vergil's *Aeneid* I-VI," *Phoenix*, IV (1950), pp. 1-8.

<sup>21</sup> C. W. Mendell, "The Influence of the Epyllion on the *Aeneid*," *Yale*

Pöschl in his excellent book on the poetic art of Vergil points out instances of symmetry and contrast between the two halves of the poem, especially in I and VII, the opening scenes of which he considers symbolic of each half;<sup>22</sup> the *Aeneid* as a whole he divides into three parts of four books each, with an alternation of light and shadow: I-IV (storm, fall of Troy, loss of homeland, death of Dido) are dark; the middle portion shines with light (the games of V, the vision of Roman glory in VI, the description of Italian troops in VII, the triumph of Augustus in VIII); the last third (IX-XII) portrays the darkness and tragedy of war. "Dunkel—Licht—Dunkel: dies also ist der Rhythmus, der das Epos in seiner Gesamtheit beherrscht."<sup>23</sup> In spite of possible reservations,<sup>24</sup> the existence of this major rhythm—or at least this threefold division—can scarcely be doubted; IV brings to an end the story of Dido and Carthage, and the main conflict in Italy does not begin until IX, while patriotic and national themes occupy a large part of the central portion of the poem, with the high points at the ends of VI and VIII. Such an over-all design does not, however, invalidate the similarities and contrasts found by Conway in the individual books.

A new analysis of the architecture of the *Aeneid* was presented by Perret in 1952.<sup>25</sup> Just as VII-XII depicts the story of Aeneas in Italy, so I-V is the story of Aeneas at Carthage, and

*Class. Stud.*, XII (1951), pp. 203-26; cf. especially pp. 223 f., where the entire eleventh book is arranged around three focal points—Aeneas' appeal for peace (100-138), Latinus' speech (302-335), and the deeds of Camilla (648-724).

<sup>22</sup> V. Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils. Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis* (Innsbruck, 1950), pp. 46 ff. Pöschl believes that the conflict between Jupiter and Juno in I is symbolic of the struggle "zwischen Licht und Finsternis, zwischen Idee und Leidenschaft, Geist und Natur, Ordnung und Chaos" (p. 31) and that this conflict is repeated in the conflict between Aeneas and Dido and in that between Aeneas and Turnus; "der römische Gott, der römische Held und der römische Kaiser sind Inkarnationen der gleichen Idee" (*ibid.*).

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 f., on the darkness and gloom of VI. Are the activity of Allecto and the outbreak of war in VII to be looked upon as light rather than darkness? In the third section of the poem, is no light to be seen in Aeneas' victories in X and XII?

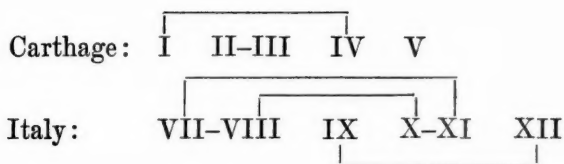
<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 111-20.

the first half of the poem derives its unity from this fact. Perret looks upon VI much as does Conway:

Il est le sommet de l'*Enéide*, comme la V<sup>e</sup> *Bucolique* était le sommet des *Bucoliques*, mais il en est aussi la somme, il en rassemble en lui tout l'esprit. . . . Entre le passé et l'avenir, comme toute l'*Enéide* suspendue entre Troie et Rome, entre les douleurs des catastrophes, des exils, des tentations et les promesses de la neuve et verte Italie, le liv. VI est vraiment la synthèse du poème.<sup>26</sup>

Perret isolates VI and purposely excludes it from his structural analysis;<sup>27</sup> he presents an interesting theory concerning the interrelations of the other books, but makes no attempt to relate the books of the second half to those of the first half. His views deserve a careful examination before we return to a consideration of the parallelism of the books as postulated by Conway.

According to Perret, the architecture of the *Aeneid* is as follows:



In the first half, the story of Dido in I and IV is interrupted by Aeneas' narrative. Perret believes that V rather than IV serves as the conclusion to the story of Carthage. This he bases on similarities and contrasts between I and V: intervention of Juno (Aeolus in I, Iris in V); catastrophe (storm in I, fire in V); Neptune rebukes the winds in I, Ascanius the Trojan women in V; Aeneas comforts his men in I, is comforted by them in V; Venus appeals to Jupiter in I, to Neptune in V. These parallels are striking but hardly prove that the latter part of V should be viewed as "une reprise" of I, or that V is the conclusion of the Carthaginian episode. We shall find even more striking parallels between I and VII.

Perret divides the second half of the *Aeneid* into two groups

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 113 f.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Mendell, *op. cit.*, p. 226, for a similar treatment of VI: "The sixth book . . . is itself a great focal point between two contrasted panels, Books I-IV and Books VIII-XII, with the quieter books of suspense, V and VII, as an inner frame."

of three books each, with the second section beginning with the assembly of the gods and Aeneas' return to combat. VII and VIII are linked together, being books of negotiations and embassies, and as VII ends with a picture of pre-Trojan Italy, so VIII ends with a picture of Roman Italy. One must suggest, however, that the conclusion of VIII is balanced far better by the description of Roman heroes in VI. Perret likewise links X and XI as books of combat which stress the glorious death of young heroes, Pallas in X and Camilla in XI. But is it possible to disregard XII in this connection? Certainly, X and XII should be looked upon as the major books of combat and at the conclusion of each a major opponent falls at the hands of Aeneas, Mezentius in X and Turnus in XII.

The relationship of the six books is intricate: VII is related to XI, VIII to X, and IX to XII, and Perret says of this arrangement: "c'est exactement le type de composition qu'après M. Maury nous avons reconnu dans les *Bucoliques*."<sup>28</sup> The main points are the following:

- VII and XI: both concern the Latins; King Latinus weak in both; embassy from Trojans to Latins in VII, from Latins to Trojans in XI; description of Camilla at end of VII, her death at end of XI.
- VIII and X: both concern Aeneas' allies, Arcadians and Etruscans; departure of Aeneas (VIII) and his return (X) each accompanied by a prodigy; Heracles of the *ara maxima* (VIII) mourns the approaching death of Pallas (X).
- IX and XII: both are reserved for Turnus and Trojan valor; Turnus appears also in X and XI, but our full picture of the hero comes from IX (in the Trojan camp) and XII (combat with Aeneas);<sup>29</sup> likewise IX depicts the valor of the Trojans (to which the episode of Nisus and Euryalus contributes) and XII that of Trojan Aeneas.

Perret's analysis of the *Aeneid* gives us valuable insights into the interrelations of the various books, especially in the second half of the poem, and reveals again Vergil's love for alternation and contrast. The possible existence of overlapping and inter-

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>29</sup> Vergil's portrayal of Turnus in X and XI, however, is essential to our understanding of his character; see Duckworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff.

locking designs should not be ignored, and the ability of different scholars to see quite dissimilar schemes<sup>30</sup> merely gives added testimony of the structural richness of the epic. But Perret seems to have missed the basic architecture of the *Aeneid*. The unsuccessful attempt to attach V to I-IV, the isolation of VI, and the failure to relate VII-XII closely to I-VI all weaken his position. He admits that the architecture of the poem must be "très harmonieuse et très simple,"<sup>31</sup> but his arrangement lacks both harmony and simplicity.

Vergil's own description of VII-XII as a *maius opus* implies that I-VI are an enriched and amplified prelude to his main theme, and Perret's careful and interesting analysis of VII-XII has presented additional proof of the attention which Vergil gave to the structure and content of the second half of the poem. Brilliant characterizations are numerous—Mezentius, Lausus, Pallas, Nisus, Euryalus, Camilla, and, above all, Turnus. The outstanding episodes—Aeneas' visit to the site of Rome, the tragic deaths of Nisus and Euryalus, the slaying of Pallas with its fateful result for Turnus himself, the defeat of the wounded Mezentius as he attempts to avenge his son's death—are all firmly embedded in the main structure and are essential parts of it. Two of the greatest single books of the *Aeneid* are undoubtedly IV and VI, and the latter, as we have already seen, is great not only for its content but because of its central position in the structure of the whole. But what of X and XII? These two books must rank high in any consideration of the poem as a whole. X pictures the tragic deaths of Pallas, Lausus, and Mezentius and provides an effective counterpart to Dido's suicide in IV—the tragedy of war balancing the tragedy of love. Mac-kail compares XII with II, IV, and VI and says that the final book "reaches an even higher point of artistic achievement and marks the utmost of what poetry can do, in its dramatic value,

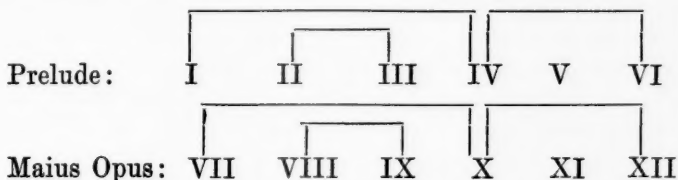
<sup>30</sup> To illustrate from a shorter passage, cf. the pattern of the Latin catalogue in VII as analyzed by B. Brotherton ("Vergil's Catalogue of the Latin Forces," *T. A. P. A.*, LXII [1931], pp. 192-202) and by E. A. Hahn ("Vergil's Catalogue of the Latin Forces: A Reply to Professor Brotherton," *P. A. P. A.*, LXIII [1932], pp. lxii f.). Miss Brotherton finds in the catalogue twelve groups of forces, with the last six paralleling the first six in reverse order; Miss Hahn rejects this and favors a more straightforward alternation of important and unimportant leaders.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 117.



its masterly construction, and its faultless diction and rhythm."<sup>32</sup> Even those who do not rate XII so highly must admit that it provides an effective and dramatic conclusion to the poem and serves as an adequate balance for VI.

In the first half of the poem, I and IV are separated by II and III (Aeneas' narrative); in like manner VII and X are separated by VIII and IX (Aeneas' absence). V is an interlude between the tragedy of IV and the seriousness of VI, and similarly XI provides a lessening of tension between the tragic fighting in X and the final conflict in XII. The grouping of the books is therefore as follows:



Whereas this scheme for the first half resembles that of Perret in part, the second half is very different and, what is more important, it is an exact counterpart of the first half. This supports Conway's view of the correspondence of the books in each half.

Vergil has composed his epic in two large parallel panels, with an alternating rise and fall of tension and with each book of the second panel balancing that of the first. The twelve books of the *Aeneid* may be presented in the following diagrammatic form:<sup>33</sup>

- |      |                              |
|------|------------------------------|
| I    | Juno and storm               |
| II   | DESTRUCTION OF TROY          |
| III  | Interlude (of wandering)     |
| IV   | TRAGEDY OF LOVE              |
| V    | Games (lessening of tension) |
| VI   | FUTURE REVEALED              |
| VII  | Juno and war                 |
| VIII | BIRTH OF ROME                |
| IX   | Interlude (at Trojan camp)   |
| X    | TRAGEDY OF WAR               |
| XI   | Truce (lessening of tension) |
| XII  | FUTURE ASSURED               |

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> The headings in capitals both here and in the parallel columns below indicate the more significant books (those with even numbers).

I agree that VI is the keystone, the focal point of the poem as a whole, but it should not be isolated between two contrasted panels; it forms the climax of the first panel, as XII concludes the second. The diagram presented above reveals the manner in which the books of the second panel balance those of the first, but to gain an adequate impression of the numerous parallelisms and contrasts which exist within each pair of corresponding books, a more detailed analysis will be necessary. The parallel columns which follow give the similarities and contrasts (including those of Conway) and illustrate the dramatic rise and fall of the action:

I	VII
<p>Juno and storm</p> <p>Arrival in strange land</p> <p>Trojans already known</p> <p>Friendship offered</p> <p>Ilioneus speaks for Aeneas</p> <p>Omens and prophecies aid reception</p> <p>Juno arouses storm with aid of Aeolus</p> <p>Venus prevails over Juno</p> <p>Movement of book—misery to happiness</p>	<p>Juno and war</p> <p>Arrival in strange land</p> <p>Trojans already known</p> <p>Friendship offered</p> <p>Ilioneus speaks for Aeneas</p> <p>Omens and prophecies aid reception</p> <p>Juno arouses war with aid of Allecto</p> <p>Juno prevails over Venus</p> <p>Movement of book—happiness to misery</p>
II	VIII
<p>DESTRUCTION OF TROY</p> <p>Story of Carthage interrupted</p> <p>Greeks destroy</p> <p>Trojans suffer from Greeks</p> <p>Helplessness of aged Priam</p> <p>Aeneas center of stage</p> <p>Ascanius—fire about head, comet</p> <p>At end, Aeneas carries on shoulders his father (symbolic of past)</p>	<p>BIRTH OF ROME</p> <p>Story of Trojan camp interrupted</p> <p>Greeks help to found</p> <p>Trojans profit from Greeks</p> <p>Helpfulness of aged Evander</p> <p>Aeneas center of stage</p> <p>Augustus—fire about head, comet</p> <p>At end, Aeneas carries on shoulder the shield (picture of future)</p>
III	IX
<p>Interlude (of wandering)</p> <p>Aeneas has minor role</p> <p>Anchises important</p> <p>Helenus and Andromache (joyful episode)</p> <p>Escape from danger — Cyclops, Scylla, Charybdis</p>	<p>Interlude (at Trojan camp)</p> <p>Aeneas absent</p> <p>Ascanius important</p> <p>Nisus and Euryalus (tragic episode)</p> <p>Escape from danger—Turnus in camp</p>



## IV

## TRAGEDY OF LOVE—DIDO

Venus and Juno (agreement)  
 Inner conflict of Aeneas  
 Affection yields to duty  
*culpa* of Dido—results in death

Turning point—Aeneas' decision  
 to depart and effect on Dido  
 At end, suicide of Dido—cannot  
 live without Aeneas

## V

Lessening of tension—Games

Funeral games

Aeneas quiets disputes

Increase of tension—burning of  
 ships

At end, death of Palinurus

## VI

## FUTURE REVEALED

Aeneas receives his commission

Dramatic progression—retardations  
 and suspense, climaxed by  
 revelation of Rome's destiny

Anchises reveals later Roman his-  
 tory

At end, death of Marcellus conse-  
 crates new order

## X

TRAGEDY OF WAR—PALLAS,  
LAUSUS, MEZENTIUS

Venus and Juno (conflict)  
 Outer conflict of Aeneas  
 Pity yields to justice  
*culpa* of Turnus—leads to death in  
 XII

Turning point—death of Pallas  
 and effect on Aeneas

At end, death of wounded Mezen-  
 tius — cannot live without  
 Lausus

## XI

Lessening of tension—Truce

Burial of dead

Latinus unable to avert dissension

Increase of tension—renewal of  
 fighting

At end, death of Camilla

## XII

## FUTURE ASSURED

Aeneas fulfills his commission

Dramatic treatment of combat—  
 retardations and suspense, cli-  
 maxed by victory of Aeneas

Reconciliation of Jupiter and Juno  
 creates later Roman people

At end, death of Turnus seals  
 doom of old order

The existence of so many similarities and contrasts in books of such varied subject-matter is an amazing fact—a fact which strongly supports my contention that Conway's theory rather than Perret's explains most satisfactorily the basic architecture of the epic.<sup>34</sup> We find here the symmetry and contrast and alternation of tension which are peculiarly characteristic of Vergil. Furthermore, not only do we have (again to use Con-

<sup>34</sup> I do not wish to deny the validity of many of Perret's comments on the last six books, but his grouping seems a supplementary and more complex pattern imposed upon the fundamental design which links VII-XII to I-VI.

way's phrase) an alternation of lighter and more serious books, but a second type of alternation may now be seen: in the numerous contrasts and similarities which exist in the corresponding books of each half, the similarities appear to predominate in I and VII, III and IX, V and XI, i. e., in the odd-numbered books, whereas in II and VIII, IV and X, VI and XII the contrasts seem more numerous. Apparently the *Aeneid* contains a far more subtle fusion of Conway's two principles of alternation and correspondence than he himself realized.

Perret considers the miracle of the *Aeneid* to be Vergil's ability to treat three themes simultaneously—(1) the legendary narrative of Aeneas, (2) themes and personages of Roman history, and (3) the praise of the achievements of Augustus.<sup>35</sup> The poem is both an epic of Trojan Aeneas and an epic of Augustan Rome; <sup>36</sup> perhaps, as Rand suggests, it is also an expression of Vergil's ideal empire—"an empire founded on justice, righteousness, law and order, religion and an ultimate peace."<sup>37</sup> In such an epic symbolism is inevitable.<sup>38</sup> Aeneas is Aeneas, but at times he is Augustus (cf. his promise in VI, 69 ff. to erect a temple to Apollo); he is also the ideal ruler who displays the *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas* which were ascribed to Augustus by the Senate and the Roman people; <sup>39</sup> Aeneas is even viewed as symbolic of suffering mankind fulfilling an unknown destiny.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>36</sup> For instance, in VIII Aeneas visits the site of Rome, then the Pallanteum of the Arcadians, but it is Augustus' Rome that is suggested to the reader by the walk with Evander; cf. P. Grimal, "La promenade d'Évandre et d'Énée à la lumière des fouilles récentes," *R. E. A.*, L (1948), pp. 348-51.

<sup>37</sup> E. K. Rand, *The Building of Eternal Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 61.

<sup>38</sup> On the distinction between symbolism and allegory, cf. Pöschl, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f.; Perret, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 f.

<sup>39</sup> *Res Gestae*, 34, 2.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 f.; see also J. N. Hritzu, "A New and Broader Interpretation of the Ideality of Aeneas," *C. W.*, XXXIX (1945-46), pp. 98-103, 106-10. Hritzu looks upon the *Aeneid* as "an universal epic of the Iliad and Odyssey of man . . . striving to fulfill his divine mission of the gaining of the kingdom of heaven and the salvation of his own soul" (pp. 108 f.). Such a view resembles rather closely the various allegorical interpretations of the *Aeneid* which were prevalent in the Middle Ages.

In a work of such magnitude, with so many threads inextricably and harmoniously interwoven, it should occasion no surprise that so elaborate a basic design of symmetry and contrast underlies the structure of the poem. But this does not mean that Vergil gave excessive attention to details and consequently neglected the effect of the whole. I disagree, therefore, with Tracy when he says that "Vergil would appear to have made the mistake of fussiness"<sup>41</sup> and when he prefers to use the word "pattern," i. e., detailed craftsmanship, rather than "design," which suggests a broader structural conception. The structural framework of the poem, as we see it in the parallel columns submitted above, indicates that the whole conception stands out boldly and that Vergil was master of his material, in large features as in small.<sup>42</sup> The poem's architecture, or "design," when properly understood, is one more proof of Vergil's supreme achievement as an epic poet.

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<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 7. Tracy's failure to see an over-all design may result in part from the fact that he limited his useful discussion of contrasting moods and tone values to I-VI.

<sup>42</sup> We cannot assume that the contrasts and parallels mentioned above have resulted merely from Vergil's subconscious feeling for balance and symmetry. They are too numerous and too striking. The balancing of the contrasting books in each half of the epic must be the result of deliberate design and was perhaps worked out before Vergil began to write, at the time when his material was arranged in a prose outline; cf. the *Suetonian Life*, 23: *Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in XII libros particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque, et nihil in ordinem arripiens.*

## THE HOUSE OF TRIMALCHIO.

Every archaeologist knows that the reconstruction of any ancient building, even when extensive remains are still preserved, is no easy task. The attempts to recover the plan and appearance of Pliny's Villas or Varro's Aviary show only too clearly the insufficiency of even the most detailed verbal descriptions. To try to reconstruct a building that never existed except in the imagination of a novelist would seem to be a complete waste of time. Petronius has made no attempt at giving his readers an exact description of Trimalchio's house, except as a setting for Trimalchio himself, and as an illustration of his character. No novelist, ancient or modern, has been greatly concerned as to whether the houses in which his characters live are structurally possible or convenient. Only recently, with the popularity of the detective novel, does the actual disposition of the house become important to author and reader, but I feel quite certain that no architect would ever pass most of the elaborate plans that writers of such stories so kindly provide for their public.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Warren Hunting Smith, *Architecture in English Fiction* (Yale Studies in English, LXXXIII [New Haven, 1934]), p. 3. The author of this valuable work has unfortunately restricted himself to only "three main types of architectural setting: the purely decorative type, used for ornament and 'local colour'; the structural type performing a service in the narrative; and the emotional type, explaining the reactions of the characters and arousing the feelings of the readers" (p. 5). He ignores the type used as a means of characterisation, and thus omits all mention of such authors as Trollope and Surtees. Yet how admirably does the description of Ullathorne Court complete the character sketches of Wilfrid Thorne and his sister, or that of Gatherum Castle prepare the reader for the Duke of Omnium! Surtees, in a series of thumbnail sketches, passes in review the whole domestic architecture of the shires, from Woodmansterne to Puddingpote Bower; the houses, and their interior decoration, are all quite typical of their kind, and at the same time typical of their owners. Dumas uses the same technique in *Le Comte de Montecristo*: the descriptions of the *Hôtel de la Rue du Helder*, the *petit Versailles rue Mélay*, and the pretentious mansion of the *Chaussée d'Antin* tell us more about their owners than any elaborate psychological description.

Yet, though Petronius is certainly not describing any real house, he has a certain type of house in mind, a type of house that was familiar to his readers, a type of house that they would associate with a person such as Trimalchio. Petronius is an extremely subtle author; as a satirist, if he can be called a satirist, he obtains his effects, not by the ranting and exaggeration that become so wearisome in Juvenal, but rather by the delicate juxtaposition of incongruous details. This house of Trimalchio's is a real house, it is the kind of house most people know, and many own, but no one, except Trimalchio, would have it quite that way. It should therefore be recognizable as a characteristic type of house of the time of Nero, and this type of house is not to be sought for in Rome itself. As I have tried to show elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> Petronius is not writing of the upper classes of the capital, he is describing "moeurs de province," a provincial life, that of the Campania, with which most of his readers were only too familiar.

It is therefore in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum that we must seek the model of Trimalchio's house.<sup>3</sup> Both these towns were not of any great importance and therefore, since the *graeca urbs* is almost certainly Puteoli,<sup>4</sup> we must not expect to find exact parallels, but, making allowances for this difference in scale, it is in Pompeii and Herculaneum that we must look. And the parallels are even closer than might be expected. Trimalchio has not built his whole house, he has simply enlarged a smaller one (77, 4): *ut scitis, cusuc*<sup>5</sup> *erat, nunc templum est*: "you remember, it used to be a kind of hotdog stand, now it's a temple." At this any owner of one of the great Villas of the

<sup>2</sup> G. Bagnani, "And passing rich . . ." in *Studies in honour of Gilbert Norwood* (Toronto, 1952), pp. 218-23.

<sup>3</sup> The House of Trimalchio has been briefly studied by P. Harsh in *Memoirs American Academy in Rome*, XII (1935), pp. 49-50 and A. Maiuri, *La Cena di Trimalchione* (Naples, 1945), pp. 243-5.

<sup>4</sup> Maiuri, *Cena*, pp. 5-14 and *La Parola del Passato*, III (1948), pp. 106-8, argues convincingly for Puteoli; Marmorale, *La Questione Petroniana* (Bari, 1948), p. 129, tends to prefer Neapolis.

<sup>5</sup> W. B. Sedgwick's suggestion, *C. R.*, XXXIX (1925), p. 118, that *cusuc* may have some connexion with the Persian *Kushk* "kiosk," is not unlikely: it has been accepted by Marmorale, *Cena*, p. 174; *contra* Harsh, *op. cit.*, p. 50. The exact meaning of *templum* does not concern us here.

Campania must have burst out laughing. Trimalchio's "temple" is not, even by the standards of Pompeii and Herculaneum, very large, certainly it is no palace.<sup>6</sup> It contains four dining-rooms, twenty bedrooms (*cubicula*), two marble porticos, three libraries; and, upstairs, the two master suites, besides a wing for guests; some fifty rooms in all, less than in the Villa dei Misteri.<sup>7</sup>

A word might be said on the four dining-rooms. One of these was probably an open-air one as in so many houses in Pompeii,<sup>8</sup> where the Casa del Fauno has exactly the same number of dining-rooms. These would seem, from our point of view, a very large number, but an examination of the houses at Pompeii shows that a plurality of *triclinia* is the rule, not the exception. Even the smallest houses have two *triclinia*, one large and one small. The reason for this is clearly hinted at by Varro<sup>9</sup> when describing the habits of the ancient Romans: *ad focum hieme ac frigoribus cenitabant, aestivo tempore in loco propatulo, rure in chorte, in urbe in tabulino*. . . . In cold weather one dined by the fire, in summer one tried to find a cool spot. With the development of the simple Italic house under the influence of Hellenistic comfort, one no longer dined in the *atrium*-kitchen-living room; special dining-rooms were introduced. This, however, created its own problems; the "Pompeian" house must have been one of the coldest machines for living in ever designed. Winter dining-rooms had to be made as small as possible, so that the guests should, like cattle in a stable, provide their own heat. In summer such a room would become intolerable, and a larger *triclinium*, and, if possible, an open-air one, would have to be provided. Another reason for the necessity of various *triclinia* may be found in the general arrangements of ancient banquets, that remind us of the Mad Hatter's tea-party. These formal banquets, in any social class, were very elaborate and intolerably protracted, at least from our point of view, as they

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Maiuri, *Cena*, p. 244.

<sup>7</sup> A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri* (2nd ed., 1947), p. 42, calculates some twenty-two rooms on the ground floor during the Augustan age, while by 79 he thinks it had about ninety rooms in all.

<sup>8</sup> On the open-air *triclinia* at Pompeii see Pietro Sorano, *I triclini all' aperto di Pompei in Pompeiana* (Naples, 1950), pp. 228-310, listing thirty-nine known examples.

<sup>9</sup> Varro, *De Vita Populi Romani*, I, *apud* Nonius Marcellus, 83, 21 M; 117, 16 (Lindsay).



still are in many parts of the Mediterranean world. Trimalchio's dinner begins at the usual hour after the bath, about two or three o'clock p. m.,<sup>10</sup> and continues well into the night, for they hear the cock crow.<sup>11</sup> Since there were no plates, all the remnants were thrown on the floor, that after a short time will have looked like a garbage heap. Every now and then slaves came in and swept up the debris,<sup>12</sup> but it was often better to break off for a short time and resume the feasting in another clean dining-room. The four dining-rooms of Trimalchio are not exceptional or unnecessary.

The real peculiarity of the house of Trimalchio, as compared with the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum, is that the front door did not lead into the *atrium*, large or small, but into a great portico or peristyle, normally to be found behind the house. Moreover, no mention is made of either an *atrium* or a *tablinum*, and consequently most scholars have denied their existence.<sup>13</sup> It would appear incredible that Trimalchio who, as an Oriental freedman, is keen to pose as more Roman than the Romans,<sup>14</sup> should not have had the most characteristically Roman part of the house, and true enough we find an *atriensis*. After walking half round the peristyle Encolpius says (29, 9) *interrogare ego atriensem coepi, quas in medio picturas haberent. In medio can*

<sup>10</sup> J. Carcopino, *Life in Ancient Rome* (ed. Rowell, 1941), p. 264; the exact time would depend on the season of the year, which is difficult to establish with certainty. The probabilities would seem to be either late autumn or early spring,—the question is discussed by Marmorale, *Questione*, pp. 107-17—but is of no importance for our present investigation.

<sup>11</sup> *Sat.*, 74, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Even immediately after the *gustatio*, *Sat.*, 34, 3. The filth of an unswept dining-room, *asaroton oecon*, was immortalized in a mosaic pavement by the Pergamene artist Sosus, Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXVI, 184; cf. the commentaries by Jex Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (London, 1896), p. 224; S. Ferri, *Plinio il Vecchio* (Rome, 1946), p. 277; G. E. Rizzo, *La Pittura Ellenistico-Romana* (Milan, 1929), p. 42; Helbig-Amelung, *Führer* (3rd ed., 1913), II, p. 49.

<sup>13</sup> Most recently Maiuri, *Cena*, pp. 244 and 158. Friedlaender, *Cena* (2nd ed., 1906), p. 217, rightly sees that the *atriensis* is standing at the entrance to the *atrium*, but is misled by Bücheler's emendation of the *in precario* of 30, 9 into *in atrio*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Maiuri's penetrating remarks, *Cena*, pp. 187-8, on 53, 13.

only refer to the main reception rooms in the centre of the house, that is to say the *atrium*, *tablinum*, and *alae*. Encolpius, finding that the life of Trimalchio had been painted on the walls of the peristyle, naturally wonders what on earth Trimalchio has put in the most important rooms in the house, those *in medio*. It follows that an *atrium* and a *tablinum* exist, though the guests are not admitted to them. The reason for this is not far to seek: Trimalchio is no fool and is under no illusions as to the kind of people who are coming to the house. He is not likely to leave his best reception rooms open to the inspection of any light-fingered prowler. The entrance to the *atrium* from the portico is closed by curtains, or by a wooden partition such as the one that has been found at Herculaneum, and in front of it the *atriensis* has been stationed to see to it that none of the guests "accidentally" stray into the rooms *in medio*.<sup>15</sup> That this is the function of the *atriensis*, and that his orders are not to move from the entrance to the *atrium*, is proved by the way he suddenly reappears when Encolpius and friends are trying to wander off (72, 8). And the *atriensis* is not alone; it is a neat touch that after all the guests are assembled the watch-dog is set to guard the interior.

The only real difference therefore between the House of Trimalchio and the regular Pompeian house is the presence of this great portico between the front door and the entrance to the *atrium*. The other marble portico will be the great peristyle behind the house, with garden, summer *triclinium*, and fountains, and so the living quarters would be, as the French would say, *entre cour et jardin*. It is this entrance portico, with estate offices off it<sup>16</sup> and decorated with the allegory of Trimalchio's career,

<sup>15</sup> The sentence that follows the answer of the *atriensis* to Encolpius—30, 1, *non licebat ꝑmultaciamꝑ considerare*—is hopelessly corrupt and after it there is a short lacuna. All commentators and translators have followed Heinsius in interpreting the general meaning as "we had not the time to examine, etc." I should prefer to take the *non licebat* in its absolute meaning of a definite prohibition, and, if we accept Carcopino's genial emendation *multiciam* (*Rev. études anciennes*, 1940, pp. 393 ff.), to translate "we were not allowed to examine this kaleidoscope . . ." There is no reason to suppose with Marmorale, *Cena*, p. 11, that the *atriensis* was showing them round.

<sup>16</sup> The *precarium* of the steward—see below—certainly opened on that part of the portico along which they had come, for they know where



that he has added to the old smaller house. Since it does not strike Encolpius as in any way remarkable or curious, we must assume that this was a common way of amplifying and modernizing an old house. While there is no similar example in Herculaneum or Pompeii itself, just outside the latter town the Villa dei Misteri offers exactly the same arrangement of a quadriportico added in front of the *atrium*, and a closer observation will show that between the house of Trimalchio and this large and once fashionable dwelling there are very close resemblances. Of course this resemblance is with the Villa as it was during the reign of Augustus, that is to say the period of its greatest prosperity, and not with the Villa as it was at the time of the eruption, when it was being turned into a farm house. If we read the description in the *Cena* with the original plan of the Villa dei Misteri before us we shall, I hope, be able to clarify many details in the *Cena* itself.<sup>17</sup>

Trimalchio leaves the Baths in his litter, accompanied by all his suite, running footmen, musicians, *deliciae* in a bath-chair, etc., and goes along at a good rate. His guests, true "*meridionali*," saunter along in a much more leisurely fashion and are far behind by the time Trimalchio and his cortège had reached the house. One of the *cursores* must have run on ahead to warn the porter to unbolt the great door to let the master in. As we see in the great doors at Pompeii,<sup>18</sup> this must have been quite a business, needing several men, but the bolts were at last withdrawn and the great flaps creaked on their bronze hinges. The

it is. In most houses, even in the Villa dei Misteri, the offices are in the front part of the house.

<sup>17</sup> Maiuri, *Villa*, pp. 41-2 and Tav. B. In the great Villa of Boscoreale, of the same period, the entrance led directly into the *quadriporticus*, Barnabei, *La Villa Pompeiana di P. Fannio Sinistore* (Rome, 1901), Tav. 2; P. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 4, though in this case there does not seem to have been an *atrium* unless the small court marked 15 on the plan is really an *atrium Corinthium*. For these colonnades I prefer to use Petronius' own term *porticus*, without dealing with the *vexata quaestio* concerning the terms *porticus* and peristyle on which see Maiuri, "Portico e Peristilio" in *La Parola del Passato*, I (1946), pp. 306-22.

<sup>18</sup> For the appearance of the main door of the Pompeian house see V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli Scavi Nuovi di Via dell' Abbondanza* (Rome, 1953), especially I, pp. 317-34.

moment the master was inside the door it was at once closed and bolted again: the main door was only used by "litter folk," not by riff-raff such as was coming to dinner. The door itself was not directly on the street, but set back from it with a spacious vestibule in front. On either side of this vestibule were masonry benches covered with rugs or mattresses for the porter, his friends, and the hangers-on of Trimalchio. On one side of this vestibule opened the *cella perbona* of the porter: the pride with which Trimalchio mentions it (77, 4) shows that he was responsible for the arrangements of this part of the house and confirms our conjecture that it was he who added the portico in front of the *atrium*. On the other side of the vestibule was the little corridor used by pedestrian visitors, which we find in the Villa dei Misteri and in most of the more sumptuous houses in Pompeii.

By the time Encolpius and the gang had arrived all traces of Trimalchio's *adventus* had disappeared: the scene was the normal one presented by the exterior of any large house in a provincial town. The great door was closed and the porter was sitting on his bench shelling peas for his dinner.<sup>19</sup> This scene must have been as common in ancient Rome as that of a *bawab* eating bread and onions with his cronies on a *mastaba* in modern Cairo. But in such cases it was unlikely that the porter was in full livery—*prasinatus*, *cerasino succinctus cingulo*—and shelling the peas into a silver basin. The talking magpie is probably a touch of the same kind: not long previously there had been quite a craze for them in Rome, but they were still a novelty in the provinces.<sup>20</sup>

The entrance for pedestrians is, as usual, on the right-hand

<sup>19</sup> For the benches along the walls of the vestibule cf. the photographs in Maiuri, *Villa*, figs. 9 and 10 on pp. 45-6: fig. 10 shows the "pedestrians' entrance." The porter is shelling peas for his own supper; he is not, so to speak, helping out the cooks, as Sage, *Satiricon*, p. 150, seems to suppose. The point is that in Trimalchio's house even the slaves dine off silver plate, cf. 37, 8.

<sup>20</sup> Friedlaender, *Cena* (2nd ed.), p. 214, is quite right—*pace* Mar-morale, *Cena*, p. 8—in citing Pliny, *H. N.*, X, 78, *nuper et adhuc tamen rara ab Apennino ad urbem versus cerni coepere picarum genera, quae longa insignes cauda variae appellantur*. The term *pica varia* is clearly equivalent to a magpie from the Apennines.

side of the vestibule, opposite to the porter's lodge. Encolpius, whose curiosity is insatiable, does not turn at once into it, but explores the vestibule still further. On the wall between the door of the porter's *cella* and the main door—*ad sinistram intrantibus*—is the painting of a watch-dog that terrifies him, so much so that he falls back and almost trips on the step. Two such representations of watch-dogs have been found in Pompeii, but in both cases as floor-mosaics:<sup>21</sup> is the painting of his watch-dog on the wall another of Trimalchio's eccentricities? Our friends now pass through the entrance corridor into the portico where the *grex cursorum* is being exercised by their trainer. This part of the house is the more public part, where the estate offices and counting rooms are; still, no one but Trimalchio would allow such an activity in this part of the house and, of course, this is the point that Petronius is making. It is not an indication of the extraordinary size of the portico itself; it would not need to be larger than that of the Villa dei Misteri.

In the portico Encolpius, who takes a keen interest in painting, at once starts to examine the decorations which are of a singular kind: a half realistic, half allegorical, account of the life and career of Trimalchio himself. We have no comparable examples of such decoration in any house of this period that has been preserved, although historical painting was well established. The subjects of the extant wall-paintings are usually drawn from mythical history or from the great mythological cycles,<sup>22</sup> and it may well be that Petronius is suggesting that Trimalchio viewed his own life as a kind of epic cycle, a kind of "Trimalchioneia" that should be commemorated in the style used to commemorate the lives of the ancient heroes.<sup>23</sup> At the same time many of the scenes depicted on the walls of the portico can be paralleled by representations on tomb monuments, where allusions to the life of the deceased are fitting and proper, and the point of the joke may lie in this incongruity. How like Trimalchio to decorate the main portico with a typically funerary decoration!

<sup>21</sup> In the Casa del Poeta Tragico and the Casa di Paquio Proculo: cf. Maiuri, *Cena*, p. 154.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Rizzo, *La Pittura*, p. 33.

<sup>23</sup> I am indebted to A. Maiuri for this suggestion.

How are we to imagine all this decoration? Are these scenes of the life of Trimalchio painted on a small frieze running round the wall and forming part of the architectural decoration, such as we commonly find in the so-called second style?<sup>24</sup> Or are they "megalographies," occupying the main part of the wall, such as we also find in the early Empire?<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately the text containing the description of the paintings (29, 3-7), though preserved both in the Tragurensis and the Leidensis, is not free from serious corruptions. In both the description begins with the words *erat autem venalicium titulis pictum*. Burmann<sup>26</sup> emended to <cum> *titulis*, considering that the *cum* might have fallen out of the text owing to the attraction of the preceding syllable *-cium*, and this emendation has been adopted by all subsequent editors except Maiuri,<sup>27</sup> who considers the addition unnecessary. It would seem to me, however, that there is a slight but important difference in meaning between the two readings. If the manuscript tradition is correct, the ablative *titulis* would naturally define not the *venalicium* but *pictum*, and the meaning would be "a slave market was painted with names above it," a practice that is extremely common in the wall-paintings of this period. On the other hand, *cum titulis* would refer to the wares in the slave market itself, as though the full phrase were "*venalicium et mancipia cum titulis*," i. e., "a slave-market and the slaves with their price-tags round their necks" which is the way all commentators and translators, including Maiuri, explain it. Since, normally, *titulus* can mean both "label, tag, notice" and "inscription, name,"<sup>28</sup> both meanings would be possible; it is therefore necessary to examine the usage of Petronius himself. Apart from this passage and two other examples in verse, *titulus* is used to describe a short dedicatory inscription on some kind of label (30, 3), notices of sale (38, 10 and 16), the description on the labels of wine-jars (34, 6; they read the *tituli* on the *pittacia*), and the notices on the *cellae* in the brothel (7, 3). It would seem therefore that

<sup>24</sup> Case di Loreio Tiburtino and del Criptoportico in Pompeii and of the Farnesina in Rome.

<sup>25</sup> Both in the Villas of the Mysteries and of Boscoreale.

<sup>26</sup> Burmann, *Satyricon* (Amsterdam, 1743), p. 143.

<sup>27</sup> *Cena*, p. 93.

<sup>28</sup> Forcellini, *Lexicon*, s. v.

Petronius uses the word to describe any kind of label, especially a commercial one, and thus Burmann's emendation would be correct, as also the current interpretation "slaves with their labels round their necks." If such is the case, it would be impossible for any painter to paint legible inscriptions on labels round the necks of figures only a few inches high; the figures must have been at least half life size, and it follows that the walls of the portico are decorated with "megalographies" on the style of the famous ones in the Villa dei Misteri.

The slave market was painted on the entrance side of the portico and occupied all that half-wall from the entrance to the corner: at the corner, marking the change from one wall to the next, was the isolated figure of Trimalchio "capillatus," with the caduceus in his hand. The next wall was devoted to his life and here we find more textual difficulties. The Tragurensis has *Minervaque ducente Romam intrabat*, Scaliger's Leidenensis has, however, *tema vitabat*, with *citabat* added in the margin, while the Pithoean and Tornaesian editions have *tenia intrabat*. Most editors have avoided the difficulty by printing *Romam intrabat*, which, of course, gives such excellent sense that it becomes immediately suspect, as an emendation of the scribe of the Tragurensis. The whole passage seems corrupt, and it is indeed strange that if *Roma* had been in the archetype, so familiar a word should have become corrupt.<sup>29</sup> Marbach suggests *moenia intrabat*, which seems improbable on palaeographic grounds. Sage prints *Romam tensa intrabat*, thus making the best of the various readings, but hardly convincing, since he does not explain how *Romam* could possibly have been omitted by Scaliger's codices. Marmorale<sup>30</sup> points out that we have no evidence that Trimalchio was ever closely associated with Rome and suggests either Atella on palaeographic grounds, or that the scribes misunderstood the name of the *graeca urbs*. To this we can observe that if there is little evidence to connect Trimalchio with Rome, there is none at all to connect him with Atella. As

<sup>29</sup> See the excellent discussion by Marmorale, *Cena*, p. 9; but since he considers the city to be Neapolis—*Questione*, p. 133—it is difficult to see how that word could have given rise to the corruptions in the MSS.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* (n. 29): in the whole of the *Satiricon* the only mention of Atella is in connexion with the mimes, 53, 13 and 68, 5.



for the name of the *graeca urbs* it is certainly either Puteoli or Neapolis,<sup>31</sup> both names almost as familiar to copyists as that of Rome itself. Moreover one cannot understand why Trimalchio should be entering the *graeca urbs*; as Marmorale very rightly points out the *venaliciū* at which Oriental slaves were being sold was probably held in the *graeca urbs* itself, one of the great Campanian markets for the trade with the East, and this scene, following as it does the scene of the market, must depict the beginning of Trimalchio's life after he has been sold, not before.

All scholars who have dealt with the passage seem to have considered that the corruption lies in the single word *Romam*, but the evidence of the *Leidensis* would indicate that the corruption extends to the following verb. If we reject the reading *Romam intrabat* we must reject the *intrabat* no less than the *Romam*. In this case Sage's emendation may give a clue, and I venture to suggest that the reading of the archetype was *Minervaque ducente tensa vehebatur*, which, the final *-ur* being abbreviated, might give rise to the strange readings of the *Leidensis*. It is therefore not a scene of arrival, no joke on the *adventus Augusti* which had not yet become a stereotyped subject in art, but a scene of departure, the beginning of Trimalchio's new life after his sale. He leaves naturally like a God, in the carriage used by divinities, under the guidance and protection of Minerva. This Goddess is here selected as his patroness, not as representing craftiness or worldly wisdom,<sup>32</sup> but as the patroness of study and learning. Trimalchio is quite sincere in his gratitude to his patron for having given him a good education,<sup>33</sup> and the next scene, how he learnt book-keeping, shows him putting this learning to use with the result that he was appointed *dispensator*. With this we come to the next corner. On the other side of the main entrance and on the other opposite wall of the portico where the *cursores* are training, other scenes of the life of Trimalchio will have been represented, those that dealt with his manumission and subsequent career under the patronage of Mercury. All these will have occupied the surfaces of the wall between the doors leading to the offices, which will

<sup>31</sup> Cf. above.

<sup>32</sup> So Friedlaender, Sage, Maiuri, Marmorale, *ad loc.*

<sup>33</sup> *Sat.*, 39, 4.

thus have split them up into tableaux. The wall opposite the entrance wall is the one on which opens the door of the *atrium*, and the two great paintings of Mercury raising him to the tribunal and of the Fates spinning his golden thread will have been painted on either side of this entrance to the principal reception rooms.

Encolpius has thus reached the corner of the portico formed by the right wall—since he came in to the right of the main door, I presume he will have continued walking to the right—and the wall of the *atrium* and of the apartments *in medio*. In this corner he notes a great wooden cup-board-*lararium* similar to the one actually found at Herculaneum.<sup>34</sup> At this period the *lararia* are not necessarily in the *atrium*, but may be found in any part of the house that might be considered suitable. With the silver Lares and the golden *pyxis* containing—or said to contain—Trimalchio's first beard, is a little marble statue of Venus. This is somewhat surprising; we should expect Mercury, under whose protection Trimalchio has placed himself, and who was generally revered by successful freedmen. And why is it of marble? The Lares are of silver, the *pyxis* of gold, and we would expect the statuette to be of metal too, perhaps bronze. Some joke, some incongruity is intended; Friedlaender's explanation, accepted by Marmorale,<sup>35</sup> that Trimalchio had a special devotion to Venus because his fortune was due in the first place to his being the *deliciae* of both his master and his mistress (75, 11) is hardly convincing. Trimalchio never alludes to Venus in any way. Is her presence in the *lararium* due to the hope that she may favour Trimalchio's own eroticism, which was definitely frowned on by Fortunata (74, 8-9)? Venus is invoked by Eumolpus in the story of the Pergamene Boy (85, 5), and thus the image of Venus in the *lararium* might be an indication of the manners of the master of the household.

Encolpius looks across the portico, notices the *cursores* exercising in the other wing, and he will have seen, but unfortunately not noticed, the large *piscina* in the centre of the court, into which he and his friend will fall in attempting to escape (72, 7). He then moves on and comes to the door of the *atrium* in front

<sup>34</sup> Maiuri, *Cena*, p. 156 and Tav. IV.

<sup>35</sup> Friedlaender, *Cena*, p. 217, and Marmorale, *Cena*, p. 11.

of which stands the *atriensis*. Encolpius, surprised at the decoration of the portico, enquires what kind of paintings were to be found in the most elegant part of the house, which he takes for granted he is not likely to see. The butler answers *Iliada et Odyssean ac Laenatis gladiatorium munus*. Scenes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are so common in ancient painting as to require no comment. It is a different matter with the *gladiatorium munus*. No scenes of the life of the amphitheatre have been used as decoration in any of the private houses of Pompeii or of Rome at this period. They are, on the other hand, quite common on funerary monuments of magistrates and others who have been *editores munerum*, and who naturally desire the most spectacular and expensive action of their lives to be commemorated for posterity.<sup>36</sup> Trimalchio, ineligible as a freedman for any of the civic magistracies, has not been and could never be an *editor muneris*. At this date to paint on the walls of one's own house scenes from one's own *munus* would have been odd and in bad taste, to paint scenes from someone else's was to be really extraordinary. As far as I know the earliest gladiatorial scenes used to decorate a private house are those on the mosaics of the Villa at Zliten, of the end of the 1st century of this era.<sup>37</sup> Maiuri's tentative suggestion that this Laenas was connected with the C. Pompeius, the patron of Trimalchio, must be regretfully rejected;<sup>38</sup> there is no reason to suppose that C. Pompeius represents a real person, but Maiuri is right in believing that the *Laenatis munus* was a real and memorable event. These *celeberrimi ludi* would be remembered not merely by Encolpius and Co., but by the readers of the *Satiricon*, that is to say Nero and the court.

Trimalchio is clearly an arena "fan"; not only has he such pictures in his *atrium* and *tablinum* but he has a whole service of silver cups decorated with the fights of Hermeros and Petraitēs (52, 3), famous gladiators who may well have been the heroes of the *Laenatis munus*. Now though there are no pictures of

<sup>36</sup> The only example of painted representations of *munera* on a tomb are those on the tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus in Pompeii illustrated by G. Spano, *Memorie Accademia d'Italia*, Ser. VII, vol. III, pp. 237-315.

<sup>37</sup> S. Aurigemma, *I Mosaici di Zliten* (Rome, 1926), p. 278.

<sup>38</sup> Maiuri, *Cena*, p. 12, n. 1; Marmorale is inclined to accept the suggestion, *Cena*, p. 11.



gladiatorial life at Pompeii, graffiti and caricatures of gladiators and bestiaries are very common indeed, and from their position on the walls would seem to have been scratched by children and adolescents.<sup>39</sup> It is therefore possible that a passion for gladiators was considered by the elegant and refined members of Neronian society as not merely common, but downright childish, and that Trimalchio is represented as being both. The game of *pila* which he was engaged in at the baths was certainly considered a childish game.<sup>40</sup> Thus the effect of the *Iliada et Odyssean et Laenatis gladiatorum munus* on a contemporary reader would be similar to that produced on us by the information that someone had framed photographs of the Sistine Madonna and Joe Louis side by side in his drawing room. And Petronius' must have been almost the last attempt to arrest the popularity of the amphitheatre; by the time of Domitian no one is ashamed to own his passion, and its life invades even the most elegant private houses.

By now they had all come to the entrance to the main *triclinium*. This would appear to have been situated on one side of the apartments *in medio*, and would have opened also on a small court on the other side of which were the kitchens and the servants' quarters.<sup>41</sup> From the portico it was approached through a small ante-chamber in which the *procurator* was receiving his accounts. On either side of the entrance were *fasces cum securibus fixi, quorum unam partem quasi embolum navis aeneum finiebat, in quo erat scriptum: "C. Pompeio Trimalchioni, seviro Augustali, Cinnamus dispensator."* Maiuri<sup>42</sup> is probably right in supposing these *fasces* of bronze, nailed to a panel forming part of the trim of the door posts. The axes are technically reserved to magistrates with *imperium*, but

<sup>39</sup> Maiuri, *Pompei ed Ercolano* (Padova, 1950), pp. 141-54. It is sincerely to be hoped that the author of this admirable essay will give us his projected Corpus of Pompeian caricatures. The graffiti of bestiaries on the columns of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in Rome (Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum* [Rome, 2nd ed., 1909], p. 221) would appear to have been scrawled by men, not children.

<sup>40</sup> Bianca Maiuri, in *Pompeiana* (Naples, 1950), p. 196.

<sup>41</sup> The kitchens in all large houses are as far away as possible from the dining-rooms.

<sup>42</sup> *Cena*, p. 157.

*fascēs* with axes are frequent on the tombstones of minor magistrates, though, since these were outside the *pomerium* of the city, the abuse was less flagrant than in the case of Trimalchio. The real oddity was the way these two *fascēs* ended in something that looked like the *embolum* of a ship and supported the inscription. This is the only example of the word *embolum* in Latin, and is obviously the not uncommon Greek word ἔμβολος which usually means the "beak" of a battleship.<sup>43</sup> The use of *rostra* as an ornamental motif is both ancient and common, and appears frequently in the decorative art of Pompeii, but its use in this particular instance is by no means clear. If *embolum* is really equivalent to *rostrum*, it is difficult to understand why Encolpius, who is not a Greek or an Oriental, would use it in preference to the extremely common Latin word. Moreover it is still more difficult to see how the cylindrical *fascēs* could end in a *rostrum* that is a projecting and horizontal object.<sup>44</sup> I suggest therefore that Encolpius uses the word to mean a decorative ship's stanchion or mooring ring, such as were present in the Nemi barges.<sup>45</sup> This termination to the *fascēs* is odd enough but structurally possible, and the inscription could be engraved on it, or be attached to the mooring ring. And the natural and obvious position would be on the top of the *fascēs*, which "ended" in the *embolum*, so the emendation *imam partem*<sup>46</sup> is not only unnecessary but falsifies the sense. In the following sentence, *sub eodem titulo et lucerna bilychnis de camera pendebat*, Blümner<sup>47</sup> is undoubtedly right in considering the lamp as also a gift of Cinnamus, bearing the same inscription; it would have been inscribed on a plaque inserted above the lamp itself on the chain from which it hung from the ceiling.<sup>48</sup> The inscription would have been arranged as follows:

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, s. v.; the word can be either masculine or neuter, in the sense of *rostra* the masculine *οἱ ἔμ.* seems preferred.

<sup>44</sup> This difficulty had occurred to Sage, *Satiricon*, p. 151.

<sup>45</sup> G. Moretti in G. Ucelli, *Le Navi di Nemi* (Rome, 1940), pp. 199 ff.

<sup>46</sup> By Lipsius, who has been followed by practically all editors except Marmorale and Terzaghi.

<sup>47</sup> *Philologus*, LXXVI (1920), p. 333; accepted by Ernout and Maiuri, rejected by Marmorale.

<sup>48</sup> It must have been very like the *bilychnis* from Stabiae reproduced in Blümner, *Die Römischen Privataltertümer* (Munich, 1911), p. 137.

C·POMPEIO  
TRIMALCHIONI  
VIVIRO·AVGVSTALI  
CINNAMVS  
DISPENSATOR

Before entering the *triclinium* proper our friends are asked to intercede for one of the slaves with the *dispensator* whom they find (30, 9) in *precario aureos numerantem*. The word *precarium* found in all the codices has been lengthily discussed. As a term for a room or a part of the house it is found nowhere else in Latin. Bücheler emended the text to *in atrio*, and has been followed by Ernout and Terzaghi. To this conjecture there are several objections: it is improbable palaeographically, there is no reason why the *dispensator* should be counting his money in the *atrium* and many why he should not, Encolpius and Co. never go into the *atrium* or the central part of the house. Far better is Marbach's<sup>49</sup> suggestion *precario* = *prooecario*, possible both palaeographically and etymologically, and the meaning would be the room or vestibule in front of the *oecus*, *oecarium*, and equivalent, as Marbach himself says, to *pars prima triclinii*. Maiuri,<sup>50</sup> however, points out that, as far as the terminology of the house is concerned, the language of it all is strictly Latin, with no Greek neologisms. But the real and decisive objection to this conjecture is that this *prooecarium* would be the very room the guests are in at this moment, and the *dispensator aureos numerans* would be the same person previously described as the *procurator rationes accipiens*, which is absurd. The account given would seem to imply that they go a short way to find the *dispensator*, who, as the most important official of the household, has his own office. The alliteration in *precario . . . deprecati sumus* seems deliberate, and Sage, Maiuri, and Marmorale have rightly argued that *precarium* is the name of the apartment of the *dispensator*, an "oratory"—so Sage—where he receives petitions, a kind of "Court of Pleas." Since Encolpius knows where it is, it must open on the portico, on the side that he has already visited, and its door would be most suitably situated between the scene of Trimalchio's book-keeping lessons and that of his appointment as *dispensator*.

<sup>49</sup> A. Marbach, *Wortbildung* (Giessen, 1931), p. 127.

<sup>50</sup> *Cena*, p. 159.

The *triclinium* itself is not described in any way, but the description of the banquet allows us to infer something about it. It was obviously a large though not necessarily a vast room and the couches were not against the walls since the slaves seem to be able to walk behind them.<sup>51</sup> It was possibly *oecus Corynthus*, such as we find in the Casa del Meleagro or in the Casa del Labirinto, with columns round three sides.<sup>52</sup> In the centre of the ceilings of some of the larger rooms of Pompeian houses there are rectangular imitation skylights; traces of one of these has been found for example in the Casa del Menandro.<sup>53</sup> It is possible that these are a survival of real skylights of wood. If such is the case, some could have easily been mounted on wooden rails and been slid open to allow gifts and food to be let down on the guests, a trick that was practised by Trimalchio (60,1-4).<sup>54</sup>

The only other part of the house that the guests visit is the bath, which will have opened on to the portico. It had been a bakery and thus the ovens could be used as the furnaces;<sup>55</sup> this is a further proof that this is the part of the house that Trimalchio had added to the original one, the nucleus of which was the apartment *in medio*. It was dark and small, just like the one in the Villa dei Misteri. The other rooms which Trimalchio describes in 77, 4 were either on the upper floor or in the back part of the house. The only point about which there might be some doubt is the mention of the two marble porticos: is one of these the entrance portico in front of the *atrium* or are there

<sup>51</sup> In 31, 3 the washing of the hands and the pedicure seem to take place at the same time: it is difficult to see how the latter operation could be performed unless the slaves could go behind the couches.

<sup>52</sup> Saglio in *D. S.*, V, 1, p. 152; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii* (New York, 1899), p. 259; A. Maiuri, "*Visioni Italiane*" *Pompei* (Novara, 1928), pp. 59-60. The largest *triclinium* in Pompeii is the one in the Villa at Porta Marina, 6.00 by 8.80 meters, which also has a vestibule: Maiuri, *Pompei "Itinerari"* (5th ed., 1949), p. 108.

<sup>53</sup> Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro* (Rome, 1933), p. 171.

<sup>54</sup> It was a trick as old as the time of Metellus Pius (Val. Maximus, IX, 1, 5) but it is referred to by Suetonius, *Nero*, 31, 2 and Seneca, *Epist.*, 90, 15. It is probable that only by the time of Nero were the technical difficulties successfully surmounted. Was this perhaps one of the *elegantiae* of Petronius himself?

<sup>55</sup> The *calidarium* was built directly over the ovens as in the Casa del Criptoportico (Maiuri, *N. S.*, 1933, p. 270) and the Casa del Menandro (Maiuri, *Casa del Menandro*, p. 220).

two peristyles behind the central block, as in the Casa del Fauno? There is no example of porticos or colonnades in marble in Pompeii, and this fact, together with the pride with which Trimalchio refers to them, would lead one to suppose that, had the entrance portico been of marble, Encolpius would have noticed it. On the other hand Maiuri<sup>56</sup> rightly observes that the use of Oriental marbles must have been much commoner in Puteoli, the centre of the import trade from the East, than in small rural communities such as Herculaneum and Pompeii. It is therefore possible that a marble portico did not strike Encolpius as anything really out of the ordinary, compared to the oddity of the decoration.

From this examination of the House of Trimalchio one curious fact is at once apparent. For anyone living during the *quinquennium Neronis* this typical house, so typical that Petronius assumes that his readers will immediately recognize it, is an extremely old-fashioned one.<sup>57</sup> We have seen its close resemblance to the Villa dei Misteri, to the Villa dei Misteri such as it was in the Augustan age, the time of its greatest prosperity. The paintings and the decorative systems are those of the second style, with bands of narrative paintings with inscriptions, and great "megalographies." This style had certainly ceased being fashionable in Rome by the time of Caligula.<sup>58</sup> We can see an example of decoration in the height of contemporary fashion in the rooms belonging to Nero's *Domus Transitoria* on the Palatine under the Flavian Palace, which are certainly earlier than the fire of 64 A. D. and probably reflect the personal taste of Petronius.<sup>59</sup> The figures are small and the scenes, though drawn from the epic cycle, have no inscriptions. The fourth style is launched by Nero's Golden House and Maiuri has shown that the most perfect example of this style, the House of the Vettii, was executed after the earthquake of 63 A. D.<sup>60</sup> Nothing could

<sup>56</sup> *Cena*, p. 245.

<sup>57</sup> F. Marx in *Neue Jahrb.*, XXIII (1909), p. 552 had pointed out that Petronius was describing the style of house that was fashionable in the second half of the 1st cent. B. C., but did not realize the importance of this fact.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. G. E. Rizzo, *Monumenti della Pittura Antica—Le Pitture dell'Aula Isiaca di Caligola* (Rome, 1936), especially pp. 32 and 38.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Rizzo, *La Pittura Ellenistico-Romana*, p. 19 and Pl. 32.

<sup>60</sup> A. Maiuri, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei* (1942), p. 112.



be more unlike the description of Trimalchio's wall decoration than either the third or the fourth styles. Though Encolpius does not refer to or comment on this aspect of the decoration, he does comment unfavourably on the smallness and darkness of the bath. Both Maiuri and Marmorale<sup>61</sup> interpret this as an indication of Trimalchio's plebeian vulgarity, the latter going as far as to say that a typical *nouveau riche* such as Trimalchio would spend vast sums on his reception rooms but neglect those that were for personal use. But in the Roman world the bath, as Trimalchio himself proves, is actually part of the reception rooms; it is not intended for the exclusively personal use of the owner. It is not that Trimalchio has tried to economize on his baths, he has simply built an old-fashioned one. Seneca in a well-known and practically contemporary letter to Lucilius (85, 4-7) describes his visit to the villa of Scipio Africanus at Liternum and his own surprise at finding a *balneolum angustum, tenebricosum*—practically the same words as Encolpius'. He goes on to say that such was the ancient fashion, *ex consuetudine antiqua, non videbatur maioribus nostris caldum nisi obscurum*, and contrasts this with the luxury of modern private baths, especially those of freedmen. This fashion of wanting to "bathe and sun bathe" at the same time was certainly recent in Seneca's day, for the bath in the Villa dei Misteri must not have been unlike Scipio's, *angustum et tenebricosum*, and was certainly by later standards far below the comfort, elegance and luxury of the rest of the house.

How are we to explain this curious fact? The explanation that would seem obvious is that Petronius has set the time of the novel in an earlier age, probably in that of Augustus. That Petronius may have specified in some lost part of the work the name of the Emperor in whose reign he supposes the action of the novel to take place is certainly possible, but there is no evidence to support such a view and it seems to me improbable in the extreme. If we place the action in any time earlier than Nero's we find numerous and glaring anachronisms and inconsistencies, and in any case it is perfectly clear that the manners and customs are those of Petronius' own age. Since he is not intending to satirize the Court, but merely to amuse it, no

<sup>61</sup> Maiuri, *Cena*, p. 214; Marmorale, *Cena*, p. 159.



reasons of prudence, such as later influenced Juvenal, would suggest the need of placing a novel on contemporary provincial manners in an earlier reign. And who, at Nero's court, would care to read about how the lower classes behaved in the reign of Augustus, or appreciate the research which the author had done to be so accurate as to certain particulars, but which had not caused him to avoid certain other outrageous blunders? Interest in historical novels, based on more or less accurate research, is nowhere evident earlier than the Romantic Movement, than Scott, Thackeray, Dumas, Victor Hugo. And whatever Petronius and his readers may have been, they were certainly not Romantics.

The *Satiricon* reflects, accurately and consistently, the manners of the time of Nero. The character of Trimalchio's House is therefore an oddity rather than an anachronism: we know from Pompeii that most of the houses there still preserved their first and second style paintings at the time of the earthquake of 63 A. D. Since the whole purpose of the minute description of the house and its decoration is to define and illuminate the character of the owner, this oddity must, in the intention of Petronius, contribute some important detail to our understanding of Trimalchio himself. It certainly excludes the idea that in Trimalchio Petronius is intending to satirize the enormously wealthy Imperial freedmen, the ostentation and luxury of whose bathing establishments were censured in Seneca's letter. Indeed the purpose of Petronius may be that of drawing a neat distinction between town mice and country mice, between the behaviour and manners of the wealthy freedmen of Rome and of the wealthy freedmen of a provincial city.

Personally, however, I prefer another explanation. Trimalchio is described (27, 1) as being a *senex calvus*. If Petronius is using the word in its strict meaning, he would be over sixty years old and the hypothesis that the soothsayer Serapa had prophesied that he would reach a hundred is attractive.<sup>62</sup> In this case Trimalchio would be in his seventieth year. On the other hand Petronius is more probably using it in its more general meaning, but even so it is difficult to imagine that Trimalchio is less than fifty-five at the youngest. Since the date

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Sat.*, 77, 2.

of the *Cena* is probably 60 A. D. or a few years earlier and Trimalchio came to Italy as a *puer capillatus*, he must have arrived somewhere round the turn of the century, and in any case in the reign of Augustus. He was bought at once by C. Pompeius, a prominent and wealthy person of that time, though there is no reason to suppose that any real person is meant, or even that the *Patrimonium laticlavium* which he left to Trimalchio (76, 2) means that he was necessarily a senator. He will certainly have lived in a large and elegant house decorated in the fashion of the time, that is to say in a house very similar to the Villa dei Misteri. And this is the only large and elegant house Trimalchio has ever known. In the provinces the division between the different strata of Society will have been preserved much more strictly than in Rome itself. As the *deliciae* of his master he will scarcely have been taken on visits to other villas; when he began to interest his mistress as well, he was exiled to a distant country estate, and finally he was entirely taken up by his business as *dispensator*. As a freedman he was excluded from the society of the town, and he was by no means rich enough to buy his way into it. His circle was entirely composed of his own parasites and hangers-on, other freedmen in similar circumstances, terrible vulgarians such as Habinnas and the other *sevirs*. What could he know of elegance and the changes of fashion? When he has made his pile he wishes to reproduce the only great house he has ever known, the house in which he served when he came from Asia, that had struck his childish imagination as a miracle of comfort and elegance. His house, old-fashioned, inconvenient, inelegant, and with a really terrible bath is simply the "wish-fulfillment" of the *puer capillatus* of fifty years before, and a clear proof of the nice psychological insight of one of the greatest and most subtle of literary artists.

#### EXCURSUS ON THE ENTRANCE TO THE HOUSE.

The entrance to the House of Trimalchio raises some perplexing problems which should be discussed in detail. It is certainly very curious that Encolpius does not describe his actual entry into the House itself, the actual crossing of the threshold: from the vestibule he seems to pass by a kind of osmosis into the entrance portico. This is strange in view of the elaborate

description of the entrance into the *triclinium*. If Trimalchio was so fussy as to the way guests entered his dining-room, he would surely have imposed an even more elaborate ritual for the entrance into the house itself. Our text of the *Cena* is notoriously unsatisfactory: many short lacunae are admitted by all editors, many others have been suggested, and it is probable that others exist unsuspected. Encolpius, after his fright at the painted watch-dog, continues *et collegae mei quidem riserunt. ego autem collecto spiritu non destiti totum parientem persequi*. It is certainly not beyond the bounds of possibility that a sentence describing the actual entrance of Encolpius has fallen out between *spiritu* and *non destiti*.

I have assumed that Petronius is not thinking of any particular house, but merely of a certain type of house. The great majority of Roman houses are laid out on a roughly symmetrical plan on either side of a main axis that runs through the entrance, the centre of the *atrium*, and the centre of the *tablinum*. There are, of course, numerous exceptions due to the personal predilections of the owner or the nature of the ground, such as the House of Livia on the Palatine or the Villas of Diomedes or of Boscoreale. But since the typical Roman house has such an axis, and since the phrase *in medio* would seem to indicate that the principal reception rooms are on this axis, I have assumed that the main entrance to the House of Trimalchio is also on this axis, and therefore in the centre of one of the four walls of the *quadriporticus*. This would seem to be confirmed by the account of the attempted escape (72, 7): when they reach the front door by which they had entered the watch-dog set up such a howling that Ascylos stepped back into the *piscina*, which was certainly in the centre of the portico and therefore would be directly behind our friends.

The word *porticus* is used in Latin and by Petronius to describe not merely a single colonnade, a *stoa*, but also the whole *quadriporticus* or peristyle. In such a case it may be said to "begin" on either side of the entrance and to "end," *deficere*, at the point exactly opposite, where the two sections of the *quadriporticus* reunite. This I believe to be the meaning of *in deficiente porticu* and I have therefore placed the tribunal scene on one side of the entrance to the *atrium*; on the other

side, *praesto*, were Fortune and the Three Fates. Having thus reached the "end" of the portico, he looks back and remembers that he should mention the *grex cursorum* on the other side and the curious *armarium* in one of the corners he has passed.

The watch-dog was certainly painted on the left wall of the vestibule and, given the constant use of litotes in vulgar speech (cf. Hofmann, *Umgangssprache*,<sup>3</sup> pp. 147 ff.), *non longe ab ostiarum cella* must mean "right next to the porter's lodge." I have therefore placed the fresco on the wall between the porter's door and the main *ianua*. I have also taken the *totum parietem* of the sentence *non destiti t. p. persequi* as equivalent to *totum porticus parietem* "the wall-surface of the whole portico," not merely of a single wing, a usage that is certainly not impossible in Latin (cf. Forcellini Facciolati, s. v. *paries*) and very common in Italian, "esaminai tutto il muro del chiostro."

Of course the interpretation of *paries* as a single wing of the portico is also possible, and in that case, assuming there is no lacuna in the text, it would appear to be the continuation of the wall of the vestibule on which the watch-dog was painted. All the frescoes mentioned would be on this wall and the entrance to the *triclinium* immediately after the *angulus* at the end of this single wing of the portico. Encolpius mentions only one corner, but that may be only an afterthought, because it contained the *armarium*; the others were not mentioned because they were not memorable. In this case the main entrance would be at the extreme left corner of the *quadriporticus*. In the Villa di Diomede on the Via dei Sepolcri at Pompeii the entrance is in the right-hand corner (plans of the Villa di Diomede in all handbooks and guides to Pompeii, including Maiuri's *Itinerario*, and, more accurately in A. Maiuri and R. Pane, *La Casa di Loreio Tiburtino et la Villa di Diomede, Monumenti Italiani*, II, I [Rome, 1947], pls. IX-XVI, with sections and reconstructions), and would therefore seem to justify the possibility of such an arrangement. But the plan of this Villa is entirely abnormal, because of the nature of the ground and its position with respect to the road, and on these grounds I have come to the conclusion that it cannot be regarded as a typical plan. The position of the entrance in this Villa is due to the desire of the owner to have as direct an access as possible from

the front door to the great garden peristyle at a lower level. The presence of a larger summer *triclinium* in this garden would seem to confirm my suspicion that in a large house one might not want one's dinner guests to wander all over it before coming to the *triclinium*.

If, notwithstanding these considerations and the difficulty of explaining how Ascyrtos falls into the *piscina*, this arrangement be preferred, Petronius then must have some particular and abnormal house in mind, perhaps the house of Calvisius Sabinus. This seems to be improbable; he could hardly expect his readers to be familiar with the particular house of a particular *nouveau riche*. And he even more certainly could not expect that, some twenty centuries later, someone would be foolish enough to conduct this kind of investigation!

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## THE STOIC CONCEPT OF QUALITY.

The most comprehensive study of the Stoic concept of quality up to the present time was made by Rieth.<sup>1</sup> He was primarily concerned, however, with the evidence on Stoic philosophy to be found in the Peripatetic commentaries.<sup>2</sup> Aspects of this topic have received considerable attention from various authorities. The Stoic theory of mixture was discussed by Schmekel, Reinhardt, and Pohlenz.<sup>3</sup> The Stoic categories of disposition and relative disposition were treated in articles by De Lacy and Pohlenz.<sup>4</sup> I believe, however, that a detailed study of the fragments and of passages relevant to the concept of quality in the writings of the Stoic philosophers can cast new light on the problems involved.

Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, recognized as first principles the active and the passive. The former was god or logos; the latter was matter without quality (I, 85). Primary matter was termed substance (*οὐσία*), and was divided into universal substance (*ἡ τῶν ὄντων πάντων πρώτη ὕλη*) and the substance of the particular (*ἡ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους* I, 87). Universal substance was

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Dr. L. R. Taylor of Bryn Mawr College, Dr. F. Solmsen of Cornell University, and Dr. L. Edelstein of The Johns Hopkins University for many helpful suggestions. The fragments of the philosophers of the Old Stoa have been collected by H. von Arnim in his *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1921). I have referred to this collection by the number of the book and fragment e.g. II, 193. All references to the Pre-Socratics refer to Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 6th ed. (Berlin, 1951). For F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Berlin, 1926), I have used the abbreviation *F. Gr. Hist.* References to Simplicius refer to C. Kalbfleisch, *Simplicii in Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium* (Berlin, 1907).

<sup>2</sup> O. Rieth, *Grundbegriffe der Stoischen Ethik* (Berlin, 1933).

<sup>3</sup> A. Schmekel, *Die Positive Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, I (Berlin, 1938), pp. 250-2; K. Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie* (Munich, 1926), pp. 5-20; and M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* (Göttingen, 1949), I, pp. 72-3 and II, pp. 41-2.

<sup>4</sup> P. De Lacy, "The Stoic Categories," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXXVI (1945), pp. 261-3; M. Pohlenz, "Die Begründung der abendländischen Sprachlehre durch die Stoa," *Gött. Nachr.*, III (1939), pp. 185-8; M. Pohlenz, "Zenon und Chrysipp," *Gött. Nachr.*, II (1938), pp. 182-5; M. Pohlenz, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 69-70 and II, p. 40; Rieth, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-84.



everlasting and did not become more or less. The substance of the particular became more or less, or, as Stobaeus expressed it, it did not always remain the same but was divided or mixed (*ibid.*). In other words, only the substance of the particular was subject to growth, diminution, and qualitative change.<sup>5</sup>

Genesis was due to the presence of the active force within matter. As a seed, the *logos* was responsible for the birth of the four elements, fire, air, earth, and water (I, 102), and after the destruction of our universe by fire, it will again act upon matter and produce a world identical to our own (I, 107). God, we are told, runs through matter just as honey through the honeycomb (I, 155).

Zeno regarded quality as the disposition of a substratum, and referred to colors as the first configurations (*σχηματισμούς*) of matter (I, 91). Qualities and substances were mixed completely, and did not exist independently of each other (I, 92; cf. II, 411, 468, and 469).<sup>6</sup>

Zeno may have regarded the virtues as qualities. Plutarch attributes to Zeno the view that the virtues were "several according to difference" (*πλείονας κατὰ διαφοράς* I, 200), and yet at the same time were "one virtue differing in terms of its relations to its objects according to its powers" (*ὡς μίαν οὖσαν ἀρετὴν, ταῖς δὲ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα σχέσει κατὰ τὰς ἐνεργείας διαφέρειν δοκοῦσαν*). The words "several according to difference" may suggest that the virtues were individually differentiated and therefore qualities.

Such things as wisdom, soul, and moderation were considered to be causes and hence corporeal. Zeno defined cause as that because of which something happens, and argued that cause was corporeal (*σῶμα* I, 89). He stated that wisdom (*φρόνησις*) was the cause of acting wisely (*τὸ φρονεῖν*), soul (*ψυχή*) of living (*τὸ ζῆν*), and moderation (*σωφροσύνη*) of acting moderately (*τὸ*

<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence that Zeno distinguished between the substance and the quality of the particular in his treatment of growth and change. Compare Chrysippus and Posidonius, below, pp. 45 f. and 54. On this problem see E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, III, 1<sup>5</sup> (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 96-8.

<sup>6</sup> I, 92 *Ζήνων τε ὁ Κιτιεὺς ὡς τὰς ποιότητας οὕτω καὶ τὰς οὐσίας δι' ὅλου κεράνυσθαι ἐνόμιζεν*. The *κρᾶσις δι' ὅλου* was the complete or total mixture of substance with substance and quality with quality. The phrase was translated by Pohlenz, *op. cit.*, I, p. 73 as "total mixture." On the Stoic theory of mixture see above, note 3.

σωφρονεῖν).<sup>7</sup> Zeno defined the corporeal (σῶμα), which included the logos (I, 153; cf. 146), as that which can act or be acted upon (I, 90; cf. I, 98). If we could assume that the virtues were qualities, we might conclude that Zeno regarded quality as a corporeal cause.

There can be no doubt that Chrysippus maintained that quality was one aspect of the logos. He stated in one passage that the dispositions (ξέαις) were air, and that air, the unifying cause (συνέχων αἴτιος) of the quality of each object which was organized under one disposition (ξέις), was called hardness in iron, density in stone, and the white sheen in silver (II, 449). Qualities were called psychic breath and aetherial harmonies, giving form and shape to the matter in which they were present (*ibid.*).<sup>8</sup> The logos permeates animate and inanimate matter. It is mind, soul, nature, and disposition (I, 158). As disposition (ξέις) it is present in bones and sinews and in the earth; as mind (νοῦς) it is found in the intelligence and in the aether (II, 634; cf. 1042).

The logos is the cause of the differentiation of the object, but since it permeates the whole object, it is present in the differentiation itself. The differentiation or quality, therefore, is the manifestation of the logos.<sup>9</sup> The logos is called a seed (σπέρμα I, 102 and II, 580), because it is not only the cause of its own development but possesses within itself potentially the quality of the fully differentiated substance.

Since Chrysippus believed that quality was a manifestation of the logos, and that the logos was corporeal (I, 153), he must have held that quality also was corporeal (σῶμα). Zeno defined the

<sup>7</sup> On the corporeal cause and incorporeal predicate, see below, p. 51. The later Stoics postulated four causes προκαταρκτικά, συνεργά, συνεκτικά, and τὰ ὧν οὐκ ἔνευ. On cause in Stoic philosophy see Rieth, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-55; W. Theiler, *Die Vorbereitung des Neuplatonismus* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 19-28; A. Schürenburg, *Die Kausaltheorie der Stoiker* (Bonn, 1921); and for cause in Posidonius, see L. Edelstein, "The Philosophical System of Posidonius," *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), pp. 302-3.

<sup>8</sup> Zeno probably took over from medicine his concept of logos as a pneuma permeating matter (I, 146). On this problem, see G. Verbeke, *L'Evolution de la doctrine du Pneuma* (Paris, 1945), pp. 12-15; and W. Jaeger, *Diokles von Karystos* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 216-18.

<sup>9</sup> For the thesis that the different kinds of quality were determined by the tension of the logos (τόνος) see L. Stein, *Die Psychologie der Stoa* (Berlin, 1886), pp. 30-6; and L. Stein, *Die Erkenntnistheorie der Stoa* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 128-31.

corporeal as that which can act or be acted upon (I, 90). Chrysippus also seems to have considered that which is either active or passive as corporeal. He argued that soul was corporeal since it touched and was separated from the body (II, 790; cf. Cleanthes, I, 518), and again, that voice was corporeal, since all that was active was corporeal, and voice acted upon its hearers (II, 140). The argument in regard to voice was attributed to Diogenes of Babylon (III, 18), Antipater of Tarsus (III, 16), and Archedemus of Tarsus (III, 6).<sup>10</sup> We can conclude, therefore, that if quality in Chrysippus' philosophy was a corporeal logos, it was also a *δύναμις*.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, if quality was corporeal, it acted as a cause. Chrysippus followed Zeno in asserting that cause was being and body (*ὄν καὶ σῶμα* II, 336). He argued that every object or event was predetermined by a series or a chain of causes, which was termed fate or logos. The quality immanent in the object may be the cause of an accident of the object or of some event which may happen to the object. Or again, it may act as a cause of an accident or event to some external object within its environment. Chrysippus distinguished between complete (*αὐτοτελής*) and initiating (*προκαταρκτική*) causes (II, 994, 997; cf. 974). For in-

<sup>10</sup> Various authorities quote the Stoics as arguing that matter which, of course, was passive, was body (*σῶμα*). Aetius, I, 9, 7 = Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin, 1879), p. 308 writes *οἱ Στωϊκοὶ σῶμα τὴν ὕλην ἀποφαίνονται*. For passages which refer to matter as *σῶμα* see C. Bäumker, *Das Problem der Materie* (Münster, 1890), pp. 332-3. On the Stoic definition of the corporeal see also Schmekel, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-8.

<sup>11</sup> The concept of *δύναμις* is found in the medical writers, Plato, Aristotle, and Strato of Lampsacus. Frequently the *δύναμις* is both active and passive. In *Concerning Diet* (*περὶ Διαιτήσεως*), a treatise which is dated by W. Jaeger, *Paideia*, III (New York, 1944), pp. 36-40 to the middle of the fourth century B. C., fire and water are said to prevail and be prevailed upon (I, 3, 8-10; cf. *Ancient Medicine*, 13, 6-8). Further, in the *Sophist* (247E) Plato defined being as that which can act and be acted upon (cf. *Phaedrus* 270D and *Theaetetus* 156A). The passages on *δύναμις* in the medical writers and in Plato were collected by J. Souilhé, *Étude sur le terme δύναμις* (Paris, 1919). For further discussion see K. Reinhardt, *Parmenides* (Bonn, 1916), pp. 223-30, and F. Cornford, *Plato's Theory of Knowledge* (London, 1935), pp. 234-8. For examples of the use of *δύναμις* in Aristotle see *Cat.*, 9a14-27 and *Metaph.*, 1019a15-1020a6. On Strato see particularly fragments 42, 43, 45, and 48. The fragments of Strato are published in F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, V (Basel, 1950). The principle of *δύναμις* is discussed on pages 53-5.

stance, if a person should push a round body, the push would be the initiating cause, but the roundness of the object (its quality) would constitute the principal cause of the movement (II, 974). Similarly the quality of an object presented before the vision of an individual would be the initiating cause of sight (*ibid.*). In this case the quality of the object determined the quality of vision in the sense organ.

We must observe further that as a cause the quality was both active and passive. In so far as it determined an effect upon the object in which it was immanent or upon an external object, it was active; in so far as it was itself predetermined by a series of causes, it was acted upon.

Chrysippus' concept of quality as a disposition of the substratum affected many aspects of his work. The virtues were regarded as qualities which differed in essence from other qualities (III, 259; cf. 255), and which were at the same time a disposition of their substratum, the soul (*διάθεσις* III, 459; cf. Sen., *Ep.*, 50, 6). One of Chrysippus' books was entitled, *Concerning the fact that the Virtues are qualified* (*περὶ τοῦ ποιῶς εἶναι τὰς ἀρετὰς*).<sup>12</sup>

Chrysippus' psychology was likewise based on his concept of quality and substratum. Perception, comprehension, impulse, and reason were qualities of the intelligence (II, 826; cf. 841). Perception was an affection (*πάθος*) of the soul (II, 54), and the soul was said to suffer a change of quality when it came into contact with the various sense objects (*ἀλλοίωσις* II, 55; cf. I, 58).<sup>13</sup> This means that color, shape, and form were not corporeal bodies impinging upon the senses, but a change in the disposition or condition of the underlying substratum, the sense organ or the soul.

Chrysippus' concept of quality made possible the four Stoic categories. The Stoic categories of disposition (*πῶς ἔχον*) and

<sup>12</sup> *St. V. Fr.*, II, p. 9, 41; cf. III, 259. The virtues were regarded as qualities in Arist., *Cat.*, 8b25-35.

<sup>13</sup> Aristotle (*Cat.*, 9b) referred to passive qualities (*παθητικαὶ ποιότητες*) as those which affect an object in some way, as, for example, the sweetness of honey affects the taste of the man who eats it. The affections (*πάθη*) likewise affect their object but whereas the passive qualities arise from a permanent disposition, the affections are derived from temporary conditions (9b28-10a10). Anger, for instance, may be due to the disposition of the subject or to a momentary grievance.

relative disposition (*πρός τί πως ἔχον*) are not found earlier than Chrysippus.<sup>14</sup> Virtue was the soul in a certain disposition (*ἡγεμονικὸν πῶς ἔχον* Sext. Emp., *M.*, XI, 23), and the soul was breath in a certain disposition (*πνεῦμα πῶς ἔχον* II, 806).

The category of disposition (*πῶς ἔχον*) raised further problems. A father who lost his son ceased to be a father. His difference in status, however, was due not to a change in his own nature, but to the loss of an external object to which he was related. The concept of father, therefore, was regarded not as a disposition of the substratum but as a relative disposition to an external body (*πρός τί πως ἔχον*). This fourth category of relative disposition was probably used by Chrysippus. It is found in a passage in Plutarch based on Chrysippus in which Plutarch argues that the parts of the cosmos are not complete in so far as they are in a certain relation to the whole (*τῷ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον πως ἔχειν* II, 550). Further, in a passage in Varro, Chrysippus is said to have argued that the word father had no meaning apart from that of son, and that the concept of right hand was likewise meaningless if one could not presuppose the left hand (II, 155). These examples may well illustrate the category of relative disposition.<sup>15</sup>

The substance of the particular and the quality of the particular were carefully distinguished by Chrysippus. In a passage in Plutarch, it is stated that each of us is two substrata. One of these substrata is substance (*οὐσία*), but the name of the other is missing because of a lacuna in the text (II, 762). Von Arnim suggested that the lacuna should be filled by *ποιότης*; Zeller supported *ποιόν*.<sup>16</sup> The one always flows and moves, neither growing larger nor smaller, and generally is not able to abide, but the other abides, grows greater and less, and suffers all the opposites. We should notice that both substance and quality, if, indeed, that is the word we should supply in the lacuna, are substrata, but that growth, diminution, and change of quality apply only to

<sup>14</sup> On the Stoic categories see above, note 4.

<sup>15</sup> These same examples, however, are found in a passage in Dionysius Thrax where they are relations (*πρός τι ἔχον*) but not relative dispositions (*τὸ πρὸς τί πως ἔχον*). See G. Uhlig, *Dionysii Thracis Ars Grammatica* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 35, 3 *πρός τι ἔχον δέ ἐστιν ὡς πατήρ, υἱός, φίλος, δεξιός*. For further discussion see Pohlenz, "Die Begründung der abendländischen Sprachlehre," *Gött. Nachr.*, III (1939), pp. 185-8.

<sup>16</sup> See above, note 5.



quality and not to substance. Division and mixture (σύγχυσις), however, take place in substance (II, 317).<sup>17</sup>

Two important passages in Plutarch's *De Communibus Notitiis* (1077 D-E = II, 396 and 1064), and Philo's *De Aeternitate Mundi* (48-51 = II, 397) provide important evidence for quality and substance in Stoic philosophy. These passages, however, are extremely difficult, and it is only with a great deal of hesitation that I offer an interpretation.<sup>18</sup>

According to Plutarch, the Stoics asserted that in one substance there may be two qualified objects (ἐπὶ μιᾷ οὐσίᾳ δύο ἰδίως γενέσθαι ποιούς), and that the same substance, which has one qualified object, may receive a second and preserve both alike. He quotes Chrysippus as arguing that when our universe is destroyed by fire, Zeus, the only one of the Gods who is indestructible, will retire into foresight (πρόνοια), and that Zeus and foresight will be in one substance, aether.

The Stoic assertion that in one substance there may be two qualified objects (ἐπὶ μιᾷ οὐσίᾳ δύο ἰδίως γενέσθαι ποιούς) is difficult to interpret, but Plutarch himself throws some light on the problem. He writes that the Stoics accused the Academics of believing that in two substances there is one qualified object (ἐπὶ δυνὶ οὐσιῶν ἓνα ποιὸν εἶναι). Plutarch points out that everyone believes that two substances may have one qualified object, and that the opposite is strange and paradoxical, if neither one dove is indistinguishable from another dove, nor one bee from another bee. It seems clear that whereas the Academics maintained that two doves were two substances with one quality, the Stoics believed that they were one substance but two qualified objects. The Stoics, therefore, must have used the term substance to designate the common factor present in all members of the genus, and the term qualified object (ἰδίως ποιός) to denote the particular differentiation of each member of the genus.

The passage in Philo is a paradox and may be paraphrased as follows. Let us suppose that Dion is whole-limbed and that Theon has lost one foot, but that Dion, in turn, loses his foot. Then Dion becomes Theon, but two qualified objects cannot be in

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 41 and below, p. 54.

<sup>18</sup> These passages are discussed by F. H. Colson in the Loeb edition of *Philo*, IX (Cambridge, 1941), pp. 528-9. Colson, however, does not offer a solution for the problem.



the same substratum (*δύο ἰδίως ποιὸι περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐ δύνανται εἶναι*). Therefore, Dion remains but Theon is destroyed.

The statement in Philo, that two qualified objects cannot have the same substratum, appears to contradict Plutarch's assertion that two qualified objects can be in one substance. I believe, however, that the passages are not contradictory. If we apply our interpretation of the passage in Plutarch to the paragraph in Philo, we may observe that Dion and Theon were at first one substance (man), but two qualified objects, whole-limbed and footless. At the second stage, when Dion lost his foot, they are one substance (man), and two similarly qualified objects, footless and footless. They are, therefore, not one substance and two qualified objects, but one substance and one qualified object. This second stage Chrysippus seems to have regarded as impossible.

We have seen already that Chrysippus recognized two substrata, substance and quality. We can assume that a qualified object, in so far as it was qualified, was in the substratum quality. Therefore, Chrysippus' statement that two qualified objects cannot be in the same substratum (*δύο ἰδίως ποιὸι περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐ δύνανται εἶναι*) should mean that two qualified objects cannot be in the same substratum, quality. At the second stage of our paradox, when Dion had lost his foot, the substratum quality was footless, and Dion and Theon were two qualified objects in the same qualitative substratum footless. Chrysippus argued, therefore, that two qualified objects, each having the same substance (e. g. man), and the same qualitative substratum (e. g. footless), were not two objects but one.

There is one further problem. Why does Dion remain and Theon disappear? This can be answered easily. Theon was defined as lacking something which Dion possessed. When Dion lost that particular differentiation which distinguished him from Theon, Theon disappeared because his individuality was due to the fact that he lacked something which Dion had.

Evidence for the theory of mixture used by Chrysippus is found in many fragments. Chrysippus described four kinds of mixture. Mechanical mixture was the mixture of dry bodies whose surfaces were in contact (*παράθεσις* II, 471 and 473) such as a heap of grain or a pile of pebbles. Again, there is the mixture of dry bodies (*μίξις*) or of moist bodies (*κρᾶσις*) in

which the components of the mixture retain their own qualities and can be separated again (II, 471). The fourth kind of mixture (σύγχυσις) takes place when two or more qualities change into another quality differing from them (II, 471; cf. 317).

A composite of several bodies is mentioned in the fragments of Chrysippus. Chrysippus referred to a body (σῶμα) composed of separate bodies (διαστῶτα), such as an assembly, army, and chorus (II, 367), and probably mentioned this kind of organization again in another passage in which he spoke of the destruction of a substance by division into parts (διαίρεσις II, 317). Chrysippus, however, referred to an army or a choir as living, thinking, or learning (II, 367).<sup>19</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that a capacity to think and learn was the quality or disposition (ἐξίς) of the army or chorus, and that an aggregate of this kind was regarded as an unified body.

Chrysippus' theory of mixture may have been influenced to some extent at least by Aristotle. His term for mechanical mixture (παράθεσις) corresponds to Aristotle's (σύνθεσις *De Gen. et Corr.*, 328a5-18). Chrysippus argued that during mixture (μίξις) the component parts maintain their own identity and are potentially separable. Aristotle regarded mixture as the combination of bodies which are capable of acting and being acted upon (322b21-29), and which combine to form a compound whose quality is different from the qualities of the component parts. The component qualities, however, are retained in the mixture and potentially can return to their former state (327b24-26). Strictly speaking the term mixture in Aristotle can apply only to the four elements.<sup>20</sup>

Aristotle, however, believed that the mixture of two unequal bodies in which the resultant had the quality of one of the bodies was not mixture but growth (328a24-26).<sup>21</sup> This distinction was not made by Chrysippus. Aristotle argued that a drop of wine is not mixed with ten thousand quarts of water, but loses its

<sup>19</sup> On this passage see Reinhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.

<sup>20</sup> See H. H. Joachim, "Aristotle: Chemical Combination," *Journal of Philology*, XXIX (1904), pp. 72-86.

<sup>21</sup> Growth according to Aristotle was the increase of the existing magnitude by the addition of that which is potentially substance to actual substance (320b30 and 322a11-13).

form and changes into water (328a27-28). Chrysippus, apparently in answer to Aristotle, stated that a drop of wine could mix with the sea, since the drop by mixture might permeate the whole (II, 480).<sup>22</sup> It seems, therefore, that the terms *μίξις* and *κρᾶσις* in Chrysippus would apply to any combination of qualities whether the quality of the resultant was similar to that of one of the components or not, provided that the qualities kept their own identity.

Chrysippus may have used the term fusion (*σύγχυσις*) to designate genesis. There is no evidence that Chrysippus discussed genesis in terms other than mixture.<sup>23</sup> When the quality of the seed mixed with the moisture in matter, a being was born with qualities different from those of the seed and the moisture. Surely this type of mixture would have been termed fusion (*σύγχυσις*) rather than mixture (*μίξις*).

According to Alexander of Aphrodisia, the Aristotelian concept of mixture was adopted by some of the Stoics later than Chrysippus, and particularly by Sosigenes, the friend of Antipater of Tarsus (II, 470).

Active and passive elements were recognized by Chrysippus. He argued that all things are mixed from the warm, the cold, the dry, and the moist and that the opposites act or are acted upon (II, 411). The dark, cold is opposed to the brightness and warmth of the fire (II, 430; cf. 429). One element changes directly into another. Fire changes into air, air into water, and water into earth (II, 413). When freezing takes place, the air is active and the water is acted upon (II, 430). Galen, commenting on the interaction of the opposite elements, said that in Aristotle the qualities mixed together, but that according to the Stoic philosophers the substances also mixed together (II, 411). We can assume that Chrysippus treated the elements as substances but believed that the quality of an element, as, for example, hot or cold, when applied to a particular object, was the disposition of the substratum to which it belonged.

Active and passive elements were used by Posidonius also. The light and the warm acted upon the passive elements, the

<sup>22</sup> See also Pohlenz, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 41-2.

<sup>23</sup> Genesis for Aristotle was the actualization of the form which was present in the matter potentially (317b23-25).

heavy and the cold.<sup>24</sup> An element was able to affect other objects within its environment. The sun is said to be responsible for color, for the fragrance of fruit, the savor of juices, and the size and disposition of animals.<sup>25</sup> And again, the quality of the earth accounts for the characteristics of various kinds of springs.<sup>26</sup> The elements are responsible for human emotions. Blood is said to differ in warmth, coolness, thickness, and thinness. Those with warmer blood are more courageous; those with colder blood more cowardly.<sup>27</sup>

In one passage of Simplicius, Antipater of Tarsus, a Stoic philosopher who was the close friend of Tiberius Gracchus before the latter's death in 133 B. C., is said to have used the word disposition (*ἔξις*) to describe both the corporeal and the incorporeal.<sup>28</sup> If, like Chrysippus, Antipater believed that quality was a disposition (*ἔξις*), we must attribute to Antipater the theory of incorporeal qualities.

What was an incorporeal quality? According to Simplicius, the Stoics argued that the qualities of corporeal bodies were corporeal, and those of incorporeal bodies were incorporeal (*In Arist. Cat.*, 217, 32). The Stoics recognized as incorporeal that which is said (*λεκτόν*), void, place, and time. The quality of one of these incorporeals was itself incorporeal. A passage in Sextus Empiricus (*Log.*, I, 38-42) throws some light on the problem. It is stated that the Stoics regarded truth as a body (*σῶμα*) in so far as it was intelligence in a certain disposition (*πῶς ἔχον ἡγεμονικόν*), but considered that the true (*τὸ ἀληθές*) was not corporeal since it was a judgment (*ἀξιῶμα*) which, in turn, was a part of speech (*λεκτόν*). We can assume, therefore, that the true was an incorporeal quality belonging to the genus of speech (*λεκτόν*).

<sup>24</sup> The fragments of Posidonius are published by L. Edelstein, "The Philosophical System of Posidonius," *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), pp. 286-325. This fragment is published on p. 301, n. 61.

<sup>25</sup> *F. Gr. Hist.*, 87 F 114 = Diod., II, 51, 3 to 53, 7.

<sup>26</sup> *F. Gr. Hist.*, 87 F 123 = Vitruv., VIII, 3, 1-19 and 26-27.

<sup>27</sup> Edelstein, p. 307, n. 86.

<sup>28</sup> In Simplicius 209, 24 we read *ὁ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπεκτείνει τοῦνομα τοῦ ἔκτου μέχρι τοῦ κοινοῦ συμπτώματος σωμάτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων, οἷον τοῦ τί ἦν εἶναι*. This fragment is not published in the *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* but is quoted by Rieth, *op. cit.*, p. 56. On the corporeal and incorporeal quality see Rieth, pp. 55-6. Schmekel, *op. cit.*, pp. 624-7 sug-

It seems probable that the predicate also should be regarded as an incorporeal quality. As we have seen, Zeno himself spoke of a cause as the cause of a predicate.<sup>29</sup> He stated that wisdom was the cause of acting wisely (τὸ φρονεῖν), soul of living (τὸ ζῆν), and moderation of acting moderately (τὸ σωφρονεῖν I, 89). Archdemus of Tarsus stated that the causes were causes of predicates, such as "cutting" (τὸ τέμνεσθαι), or of propositions, as, for example, "the ship is" (ἡ ναὺς γίνεται). These predicates and propositions are termed "incorporeal actions" (ἐνέργειαι ἀσώματοι III, 8). Posidonius also argued that the cause was real and corporeal but that of which it was the cause was neither real nor corporeal, but an accident and a predicate.<sup>30</sup> Similar statements are found in later writers. Seneca (*Ep.*, 117, 2) wrote that wisdom is considered a good, and since the good is active, it must be corporeal. But being wise (*sapere*) is incorporeal and an accident of wisdom. According to Sextus Empiricus, the Stoics believed that every cause was a body which was a cause to another body of something incorporeal. For example, the lancet is the cause to the flesh of the incorporeal predicate being cut (ἀσώματου τοῦ τέμνεσθαι κατηγορήματος *Phys.*, I, 211 = II, 341).

In spite of the fact that the quality was itself the cause of the predicate, the quality was frequently regarded as characterized by or derived from the predicate.<sup>31</sup> Chrysippus, for instance, defined a logical proposition (ἀξίωμα) as derived from a proposition's having been made (τὸ ἀξιοῦσθαι II, 193). Similarly Simplicius spoke of those who derived the qualities from what are usually termed predicates (216, 19 ff.). Roofing is the result of having been roofed; equality is derived from equalization; and corporeality from the existence of body as substance (ἀπὸ τοῦ σῶμα ὑπάρχειν).

The Stoic interpretation of the universal or form such as man or horse presents some interesting problems. We have passages in Stobaeus, Aetius, and Diogenes Laertius which refer to the forms as concepts (ἐννοήματα). They are neither being (τινα) nor qualities (ποιά) but as it were a certain kind of apparition

gested that the Stoic source used by Simplicius in 209, 1 to 223, 11 was Antipater.

<sup>29</sup> See above, pp. 41 f.

<sup>30</sup> Edelstein, p. 302, n. 65.

<sup>31</sup> On this topic see Rieth, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-64.



of the soul (ποῖα φαντάσματα ψυχῆς I, 65). The source of these statements cannot be determined. Stobaeus has the heading Ζήνωνος <καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ>;<sup>32</sup> Aetius οἱ ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος. It seems probable that the source was early. Cleanthes is said to have argued that the forms (ιδέαι) were concepts (I, 494). According to Simplicius, Chrysippus was at a loss as to whether the form should be called being (τόδε τι II, 278). He believed that the forms embraced the genesis of the infinite in defined limits (II, 365).<sup>33</sup>

The term "common quality" was used at least as early as Diogenes of Babylon to designate such things as man or horse which Plato had termed forms.<sup>34</sup> The distinction between the quality of the genus and the quality of the particular, however, was made by Chrysippus. He spoke of the quality of a particular substance as "individually qualified" (ιδίως ποιός II, 396, 397, and 624), and distinguished between the quality of the genus and the quality of the species. In one passage, he argued that the generic pleasure was intelligible (νοητόν), but the pleasure of the species perceptible (αἰσθητόν).<sup>35</sup>

The term common quality is described at length in a passage in Simplicius (*In Arist. Cat.*, 222, 30 = II, 378).<sup>36</sup> Simplicius quoted the Stoics to the effect that the common quality (τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ποιότητος) was a differentiation of substance, not separable by itself, but ending in conception and property (εἰς ἐννόημα καὶ ιδιότητα ἀπολήγουσαν), not moulded by time or power (ισχύι), but by its own individuality (τῇ ἐξ αὐτῆς τοιοντότητι).

According to a passage in Sextus Empiricus, relation (πρὸς τι) and relative disposition (πρὸς τί πως ἔχον) were regarded by the Stoics as intelligibles (II, 80 and 404).

<sup>32</sup> The brackets were added by Diels.

<sup>33</sup> Compare Posidonius who defined the soul as "the form of the space in which is inherent a harmony of numbers" (τὴν ψυχὴν ιδέαν εἶναι τοῦ πάντη διαστατοῦ κατ' ἀριθμὸν συνεστῶσαν ἁρμονίαν περιέχοντα Plut., *Proc. Animae*, 1023). On this passage see Edelstein, pp. 303-4, and R. M. Jones, *The Platonism of Plutarch* (Wisconsin, 1916), pp. 73-4.

<sup>34</sup> Diogenes of Babylon defined a *προσηγορία* as a part of speech indicating a common quality (κοινὴ ποιότης) such as man or horse (III, 22). On this fragment see H. Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern*, II (Berlin, 1891), pp. 238-42.

<sup>35</sup> II, 81 Χρυσίππος τὸ μὲν γενικὸν ἡδὺ νοητόν, τὸ δὲ εἰδικὸν καὶ προσπίπτον ἡδὺ αἰσθητόν.

<sup>36</sup> On this passage see Rieth, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-9 and 79.



Should such things as the common quality and relations be considered corporeal or incorporeal qualities? There is no direct evidence on which to base an answer to this question. But since neither the common quality nor the relation seems to have been used as a cause, they should probably be considered incorporeal.

I believe that we can perceive several stages in the development of the Stoic concept of incorporeal quality. The early Stoics recognized only corporeal quality and maintained that that which was not corporeal quality was not being. Chrysippus stated the principles of the Stoic categories, and probably recognized a common quality which he regarded as intelligible. At least as early as Antipater of Tarsus the incorporeal quality was introduced. It probably included the predicate, the common quality (the forms), and the categories.

In a discussion of the possible destruction of our universe, Boethus of Sidon, a Stoic philosopher whom von Arnim assigned to the period of the Old Stoa, mentioned three ways in which a body might be destroyed (III, 7). A composite body such as an army or a chorus (διστηκότα) or a body which is joined together (συναπτόμενα) might be destroyed by division (διαίρεσις);<sup>37</sup> or again a body might be destroyed by the destruction of the prevailing quality (κατὰ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἐπεχούσης ποιότητος). For example, wax that had been moulded into a figure might be smoothed out and the figure destroyed. Or the quality might be destroyed by a mixture which would produce a new quality (σύγχυσις). The word mixture or fusion (σύγχυσις) seems to be used with the same meaning that it had in Chrysippus but

<sup>37</sup> The terms separate (διστῶτα) and joined together (συναπτόμενα) occur in several passages in Stoic philosophy and show a remarkable consistency in their meaning. The term separate is used by Chrysippus (II, 367) to refer to bodies such as an assembly, army, or chorus. In Boethus of Sidon (III, 7), it refers to herds of goats and cattle, to choruses and armies; again, in Sextus Empiricus (*M.*, IX, 78), it includes armies, flocks, and choruses. Seneca also speaks of bodies composed of things which are separate (*quaedam ex distantibus*) and gives as examples an army, populace, or senate (*Ep.*, 102, 6). The word joined together occurs less frequently. Sextus Empiricus gives as examples of this kind of body chains, cabinets, and ships (*M.*, IX, 78). Seneca too speaks of a composite body (*composita*) such as a ship, a house, or "everything which is the result of joining separate parts into one sum total" (*Ep.*, 102, 6 *quorum diversae partes iunctura in unum coactae sunt*: R. M. Gummere in the Loeb translation).

whereas Chrysippus was discussing fusion from the point of view of mixture, Boethus was interested in the destruction of the component qualities which accompanied this kind of mixture.

Evidence regarding Posidonius' treatment of genesis and change is found in Areius Didymus.<sup>38</sup> Posidonius argued that there were four kinds of change, division (*διαίρεσις*), qualitative change (*ἀλλοίωσις*), mixture (*σύγχυσις*), and dissolution from the whole (*τὴν ἐξ ὅλων, λεγομένην δὲ κατ' ἀνάλυσιν*). Substance can receive only qualitative change (*ἀλλοίωσις*); the other three kinds of change apply to quality (*περὶ τοὺς ποιоὺς λεγομένους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας γιγνομένους*). This sentence should be compared with the passage in Chrysippus which I discussed above.<sup>39</sup> Chrysippus had recognized substance and quality as substrata, and argued that qualitative change could apply only to the substratum quality, but that division and mixture took place in substance. Posidonius, on the other hand, maintained that a change of quality applied to substance, and division and mixture to quality. By asserting that qualitative change occurred in substance, Posidonius may have been trying to bridge the gap which Chrysippus had made between substance and quality. He seems to have believed that substance was indestructible. Posidonius went on to argue that the identity of the particular was due to the presence of a persistent quality from its genesis to its destruction.

We should notice also in this connection a passage in which Posidonius stated that God was an intelligible and fiery breath (*πνεῦμα*), not having form (*μορφή*), but changing into whatever he wishes, and being assimilated to all things.<sup>40</sup> We can assume, I believe, that quality in Posidonius' philosophy also was one aspect of God or logos. We might conclude that a capacity to change and be changed, or to act and be acted upon was a distinctive characteristic of God or quality.

The distinction between unified and non-unified bodies in Posidonius' philosophy presents difficult problems. In a passage which seems to have Posidonius as its source, Sextus Empiricus referred to bodies as unified (*ἡνωμένα*), joined together (*συναπτόμενα*), and separate (*διεστῶτα* *M.*, IX, 78).<sup>41</sup> He defined unified

<sup>38</sup> Edelstein, p. 294, n. 35.

<sup>39</sup> See above, pp. 45 f.

<sup>40</sup> Edelstein, p. 291, n. 22. Edelstein argues, on the basis of this fragment, that God can only become accommodated to that which exists.

<sup>41</sup> See above, note 37.

bodies as those which are controlled by one disposition (*ἕξις*) such as plants and animals, and added that in the case of unified bodies there is a certain sympathy similar to that which exists between a finger and the rest of the body. When a finger is cut off, the body suffers. A little later Sextus stated that of unified bodies, some were bound together by disposition (*ἕξις*) as, for example, wood and stones; some such as plants by nature; and others, as, for instance, animals, by soul (*M.*, IX, 81). Edelstein attributed only the first passage to Posidonius and argued from this that only living bodies such as plants and animals were unified.<sup>42</sup> He supported his interpretation by a sentence in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* (II, 82). Cicero writes that the world is not governed by nature like a clod of earth, a piece of stone or something of the sort with no natural cohesion (*nulla cohaerendi natura*), but like a tree or an animal in which there is order and design.<sup>43</sup>

If one assumes that Sextus Empiricus is using a single source for sections 78 and 81, a slightly different interpretation becomes possible.<sup>44</sup> In that case, since Sextus Empiricus makes only three divisions (*M.*, IX, 78), we must suppose that every body, which is not formed from separate entities such as an army, or which is not composed of parts artificially bound together such as a house or a ship, must be unified. This would mean that natural objects, both organic and inorganic, were considered to be unified.

Differences among unified bodies were, however, recognized by Posidonius. An important passage based on Posidonius in Diogenes Laertius has been translated as follows: "The world is ordered by reason and providence . . . Only there is a difference of degree; in some parts there is more of it, in others less. For through some parts it passes as a "hold" or containing force (*ἕξις*), as is the case with our bones and sinews; while through others it passes as intelligence, as in the ruling part of the soul."<sup>45</sup>

Our discussion of unified and non-unified bodies can be carried

<sup>42</sup> Edelstein, p. 299.

<sup>43</sup> The manuscript reading is *nulla cohaerendi natura*. Rackham, however, in the Loeb text reads *sola cohaerendi natura*.

<sup>44</sup> Reinhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-51.

<sup>45</sup> R. D. Hicks in the Loeb translation of D. L., VII, 138.

a step further by considering a passage in Simplicius (*In Arist. Cat.*, 214, 24-215, 2). According to Simplicius, the Stoics argued that the qualities were dispositions (*ξέεις*) but applied the term disposition only to bodies which were unified (*ἡνωμένα*), but not to bodies which were joined together (*συναπτόμενα*) such as a ship, or to those which were composed of separate entities (*διεστῶτα*) such as an army. The result, as Simplicius points out, is that although all bodies are qualified (*ποιά*), only bodies which are unified under one disposition (*ξέεις*) possess quality.

A distinction between the qualified (*ποιά*) and quality (*ποιότης*) is made in another passage of Simplicius (212, 12-213, 7).<sup>46</sup> He tried to define the qualified (*τὸ ποιόν*), and by diaeresis divided it into movement (*κίνησις*) and condition (*σχέσις*), and the latter, in turn, into temporary condition and disposition. A disposition is a condition which has some duration and which is the cause of its own individuality and not dependent upon externals. For example, a man who eats food (*ὀψόφαγος*) can have this condition (*σχέσις*) only if food is available, but a man who is a lover of food (*φίλοψος*) has this natural disposition whether he has food at any given moment or not (cf. II, 393). The quality is the disposition; the qualified includes movement, and condition as well as disposition. Similarly elsewhere in Simplicius (209, 14 ff.) the term *ἐκτόν* applies not only to *ξέεις* but to movement and condition as well.<sup>47</sup>

Who was the Stoic who believed that not all bodies were unified, and yet identified quality with the disposition (*ξέεις*) of unified bodies? Such a distinction may have been made by Posidonius. Schmekel suggested that Antipater of Tarsus was Simplicius' source.<sup>48</sup> Antipater was, in fact, quoted by Simplicius in one passage (209, 24). The evidence is by no means conclusive.

Strong criticism of the Stoic theory of corporeal quality is found in a treatise entitled, *That the Qualities are Incorporeal*,

<sup>46</sup> On this passage see Rieth, *op. cit.*, 22-6 and 29-35; E. Elorduy, "Die Sozialphilosophie der Stoa," *Philol.*, Suppl. XXVIII (1936), pp. 102-7; Schmekel, *op. cit.*, pp. 624-7.

<sup>47</sup> According to Simplicius (237, 25-238, 32), the Stoics considered the *διάθεσις* more permanent than the *ξέεις*. The virtues were *διαθέσεις*. Compare Arist., *Cat.*, 8b25-9a13.

<sup>48</sup> See above, note 28.

which was published by Kühn as part of the works of Galen,<sup>49</sup> but was recently attributed to Albinus by Orth.<sup>50</sup> The writer of the treatise defined body (*σῶμα*) as a three-dimensioned solid (*τριχῇ τινα διαστάν τὴν οὐσίαν ἀντίτυπον*), and asserted that an accident cannot be corporeal. He raised problems regarding the divisibility of the quality, place and change of quality. The objections made against the Stoic theory are valid only if the Stoics defined body as a three-dimensioned solid. The Stoic concept of quality was criticized by Plotinus also who likewise defined body as a three-dimensioned solid.<sup>51</sup>

Did the Stoics regard body as a solid of three dimensions? It has been argued that the definition of a solid body given by Apollodorus of Seleucia suggests that they did.<sup>52</sup> Apollodorus defined a solid body (*σπερεὶν σῶμα*) as a body of three dimensions (*τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν* III, 6). In the same paragraph, however, he defined surface and line. I believe that Apollodorus is giving us a definition of a body of three dimensions as distinct from one of two dimensions, and that his definition has nothing to do with the corporeal as the term was used in regard to the Stoic concept of quality. In my opinion, the term "body" in Stoic philosophy designates a capacity to act or be acted upon, and not a three-dimensioned solid.<sup>53</sup> This conclusion receives some support from another fragment of Apollodorus in which he argued that substance (*οὐσία*) and the limited (*πεπερασμένη*) were body (*σῶμα*), and went on to point out that substance was acted upon (*παθητή*), for, if it had been unchangeable (*ἄτρεπτος*), that which comes into being would not have come from it (III, 4; cf. Antipater, III, 32). I believe, therefore, that Albinus and Plotinus attacked Stoic philosophy, basing their objections on their own definition of body.

We may summarize our results as follows. Zeno recognized two principles, the active and the passive, and distinguished between universal substance and the substance of the particular.

<sup>49</sup> C. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, XIX (Leipzig, 1830), pp. 463-84.

<sup>50</sup> E. Orth, "Les oeuvres d'Albinos le Platonicien," *L'Antiquité Classique*, XVI (1947), pp. 113-14.

<sup>51</sup> Plot., *Enn.*, VI, 1, 26 = II, 315.

<sup>52</sup> Bäumer, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-6 argued that the Stoic *σῶμα* was a three-dimensioned solid.

<sup>53</sup> See above, pp. 42 f.

He regarded quality as the disposition of a substratum, and may have regarded the virtues as qualities. Like Zeno, Chrysippus believed that quality was the disposition of a substratum. Quality was one aspect of the logos, a corporeal δύναμις, and a cause. He distinguished between universal substance and the substance of the particular, and argued that growth, diminution, and change applied only to the quality and not to the substance. His concept of quality influenced his theory of virtue, and his psychology, and probably made possible the four Stoic categories. Chrysippus may have modified Zeno's theory of mixture by introducing the distinction between a mixture (μίξις) in which the component qualities are retained and a mixture (σύγχυσις) in which they are lost. The incorporeal qualities were recognized at least as early as Antipater of Tarsus. They probably included the predicate, the common quality, and the categories. Posidonius recognized four kinds of change, division, qualitative change, mixture, and dissolution from the whole, and argued that qualitative change involved a change of substance, whereas the other three kinds of change concerned quality alone.

MARGARET E. REESOR.



## THE GENERATION OF PEISISTRATUS.

Jacoby's re-examination of Peisistratean chronology<sup>1</sup> in the light of the Atthidographers' contribution rightly places great emphasis on oral tradition. It was from oral tradition that Herodotus took the two<sup>2</sup> chronological references in his account of Peisistratus.<sup>3</sup> And from oral tradition the early Atthidographers admitted still more dates and converted them into archon years.<sup>4</sup> Such respect for the usefulness and accuracy of oral tradition accords strangely with Jacoby's rejection of those parts of the oral tradition which are not concerned with periods of time.<sup>5</sup> And yet it is almost certainly true that oral tradition is most memorable when it concerns personalities, and that in oral tradition chronological relations will be more often expressed by the subjects' coming-of age, marriage, relative youth, etc. than by numbers of years. If stories which imply relative

<sup>1</sup> *Atthis* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 188 ff. I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Jacoby for encouragement and pertinent criticism. The conjectures and conclusions, however, are my own.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt., I, 62, 1: ten-year duration of Peisistratus' second exile; V, 65, 3: 36-year duration of the tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons.

<sup>3</sup> Jacoby, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189; p. 370, n. 96; p. 196: "Generally speaking the result of our investigation is this: the conviction 'that all datings by Attic archons have a claim *a priori* to be considered of greater age and of particular reliability' (Wilamowitz, *Ar. u. Ath.* i. p. 5) is not justified *a priori*, at least not for the seventh and sixth centuries; it is perhaps justified only in a few exceptional cases (viz. where the name of the archon has been retained in memory or in one of the rare documents). The archon's date primarily merely signifies that a piece of information is taken from an *Atthis*, and that the Atthidographers (*i. e.* Hellanikos at the earliest) noted down the event under a certain archon. These years may have been and often actually were calculated on the basis of heterogeneous statements of time in oral tradition."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 378, n. 133. Jacoby considers the possibility that Hegesistratus, Peisistratus' son by the Argive woman, might be the same as the archon after Comeas. "But I should not like to treat here the complicated question about the marriages and the sons of Peisistratos." There is only incidental mention in another context of Hipparchus' marriage (p. 92); and there is no consideration of the ages of Hippias and Hipparchus at the time of Peisistratus' first return.

ages of Peisistratus and his sons are to be ignored in the working-out of a Peisistratean chronology which implicitly contradicts them, some explanation of their origin and inaccuracy must be given.<sup>6</sup>

The most recent trend in this much debated chronological question,<sup>7</sup> exemplified by Adcock<sup>8</sup> and Jacoby,<sup>9</sup> limits the first two periods of tyranny and the intervening first exile to the five years between 561/0 and 556/5, in order to use the Herodotean figures of 10 years (Herodotus, I, 62, 1) for the second exile (556/5-546/5) and 36 years (V, 65) for the total continuous rule of Peisistratus and his sons (546/5-511/10).<sup>10</sup> This limitation requires that the intervals given by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 14 ff.) be emended or explained away and presents us with a rationalized chronology outlining what should have happened with little or no regard for the implied chronology of various oral traditions.

Two items in the presumably oral tradition, unlike the invented six- and seven-month tyrannies, fulfil the oral tradition's requirement of being essential and memorable parts of the living fabric of the story. First, Peisistratus' sons, presumably Hippias and Hipparchus, are *neaniai* at the beginning of the second tyranny (Hdt., I, 61, 1); if this is dated in 559 or 558, the two sons should have been born about 579 or 578, thus inflating the ages of the whole family to an improbable if not impossible degree. That is, Hippias would be almost 90 at Marathon and almost 70 at the time of his eviction from Attica, when his

<sup>6</sup> These traditions are given some consideration in two of the more recent treatments of the chronological question: Gomme, *J. H. S.*, XLVI (1926), p. 174; Schachermeyr, *R.-E.*, XIX, 1, cols. 173 f.

<sup>7</sup> Bibliography is given in Schachermeyr, *loc. cit.*, cols. 164 ff. (Gomme, *loc. cit.*, pp. 173 ff. should be added, and Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 188 ff.) Schachermeyr's chronology belongs to the older school, allowing 5 years for the first tyranny, 6 years for the first exile, 6 months for the second tyranny, and the usual 10 years for the 2nd exile. See also his table of various chronologies. Cadoux (*J. H. S.*, LXVIII [1948], p. 105) is not concerned with the individual tyrannies and exiles.

<sup>8</sup> *C. Q.*, XVIII (1924), pp. 174 ff. and *C. A. H.*, IV.

<sup>9</sup> *Atthis*, pp. 188 ff. These two chronologies, though almost identical in result, are based on different methods.

<sup>10</sup> For the validity of this interpretation of Herodotus' 36 years, see below, n. 23.

children were not all grown;<sup>11</sup> Hipparchus would be in his mid-sixties at the time of his pursuit of Harmodius; Peisistratus, unless the sons were born to him at an unusually early age, would be 50 on first attempting tyranny and 64 at the battle of Pallene, in which he took an active part. These are not impossibilities, but together they add up to an improbability. Second, Hegesistratus, the son of Peisistratus by the Argive woman whom he married in the first tyranny or first exile,<sup>12</sup> is reported as leading Argive troops at the battle of Pallene,<sup>13</sup> on the occasion of the second return. If Hegesistratus was born after 559, he could have been no more than 13 in 546.

Because of the time they require, neither of these items can be later accretions to a well-established short chronology for the first two Peisistratean attempts, if such existed, and so must belong to the original story. Both require a long chronology for these two attempts: more time in the first tyranny and exile for Hippias and Hipparchus to grow up, supposing them to have been born at the more probable dates of 570 and 569; more time between the first tyranny and the third for Peisistratus to marry the Argive woman and for their son to reach at least 18 years of age. Such extensions of time do appear in an ancient account (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 14 ff.) where the five years of the first tyranny and the eleven years of the first exile make it possible for Hippias and Hipparchus to have been born as late as 570-65. Again, using Aristotle's intervals, the long first exile, the six years of the second tyranny, and the ten years of the second exile make it possible for the son of the Argive marriage to mature before Pallene, whether that marriage took place during the first tyranny or the first exile. It might be thought that these intervals were just arbitrarily invented to allow for the time required by the tradition, without any regard

<sup>11</sup> Hdt., V, 65, 1: *oi paides* suggests children. That they were being conveyed out of the country suggests that they were not of fighting age. And we know from Thucydides (VI, 55) that, at least of the "legitimate" sons of Peisistratus, only Hippias had children.

<sup>12</sup> Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 17, 4. What happened to her before Peisistratus' marriage with the daughter of Megacles?

<sup>13</sup> Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 17, 4. It has been suggested that Hegesistratus was assigned this role only because of his name, but this seems a somewhat violent remedy.

for the total chronological picture. For the intervals and dates presented together in the work of Aristotle do involve such inconsistency that they may not be accepted without explanation. This does not mean that they should be explained or emended out of existence, unless (and the attempt must still be made) they cannot be accounted for as they stand. Our first obligation with an ancient source is a sincere effort from every possible point of view to understand what is given and to make what we can of it. Especially in the case of numbers, once the thread of communication is cut by emendation or assumption of interpolation, we lose contact with our source and can claim no other authority than our own rationalism.

Let us start with Aristotle's dates and intervals (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 14 ff.):

1st tyranny	Archonship of Comeas	561/0 or 560/59 <sup>14</sup>
	5 years	
1st exile, when tyranny was not firmly estab- lished.	Sixth year	556/5 or 555/4
	11 years	
2nd tyranny	Twelfth year	545/4 or 544/3
	6 years	
2nd exile	Seventh year	539/8 or 538/7
	10 years	
3rd tyranny	Eleventh year	529/8 or 528/7
	?	
	<hr/> 32 years plus 3rd tyranny	

Total from Peisistratus' 1st tyranny to death: 33 years (561/0 to 529/8).

Total rule of Peisistratus: 19 years.

Archonship dates given for: 1st tyranny (Comeas); 1st exile (Hegesias); death of Peisistratus (Philoneos).

We find the basic inconsistency to be that the stated periods of tyranny and exile do not fit into the thirty-three years from the archonship of the first attempt to the archonship of Peisistratus' death and still leave a third tyranny of sufficient length (8 years) not only firmly to root the tyranny but also to fill out the nineteen years of rule. Since the archonship dates do not agree with

<sup>14</sup> Both dates are attested and depend on the method of counting from the archonships of Philoneos and Harpactides; for our present purposes the exact year is immaterial.

the stated intervals, both types of chronological evidence must be examined and tested. Merely to measure the intervals against the archon dates and find them wanting is not enough.

We must ask when and how the archon dates for these events became fixed. According to Jacoby's inviting line of argument<sup>15</sup> the archon-list was kept contemporaneously at least from the time of Solon as a simple list, with no notes of contemporary events. This list, however it may have been kept before, was inscribed on stone about 425 B. C.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps then for the first time the ordinary citizen could compare his family traditions with the official chronology. Whether the publication (or republication) of the list at this time was the cause or effect of increased historical interest and activity,<sup>17</sup> it seems likely that for the first time attempts were made to assign past events to archon years. There was material enough for a determined researcher in various official lists and documents as well as decrees to carry this dating back to 511/10 with complete assurance and accuracy.<sup>18</sup> For the period before that, it is likely that the assignment of events to archon years had to be based on traditions (both written and oral) concerning the number of years or generations between events.<sup>19</sup> When there was general agreement on the interval before a fixed point, there was no difficulty and no need for the sometimes arbitrary assignment of an event to an archon year that Jacoby assumes.<sup>20</sup> For example, there was general agreement that the sons of Peisistratus ruled seventeen years.<sup>21</sup> Peisistratus' death could thus be fixed by

<sup>15</sup> *Atthis*, pp. 171 ff.; 175 ff.; 188 ff. Also Cadoux, *loc. cit.*, pp. 80 f.

<sup>16</sup> Meritt, *Hesp.*, VIII (1939), pp. 59 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the chronicle of the Asclepieion in Athens (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4960) beginning with archon-dating in 420/19 B. C. See Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 356, n. 24. The archon begins during this period regularly to appear in the prescripts of decrees. The relation of the first Metonic cycle and attendant interest in chronological periods to the archon-list publication has not been completely explored.

<sup>18</sup> Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 204 ff.; Cadoux, *loc. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>19</sup> Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 186; p. 365, n. 70; p. 370, n. 96.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224 f.

<sup>21</sup> Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 19, 6: 17 years; Arist., *Pol.*, 1315b: 18 years; Hdt., V, 65: 36 years for Peisistratus and his sons; subtract the 19 years of Peisistratus' rule (*Ath. Pol.*, 17, 1); the difference between 17 and 18 years results merely from different methods of counting and does not represent a disagreement in the tradition.

counting back seventeen years from 511/10. Inclusive or exclusive reckoning will result in 528/7 or 529/8. Substantial agreement exists also for the thirty-six years of rule for Peisistratus and his sons.<sup>22</sup> Peisistratus' rule was thus known to have extended over nineteen years, but as it was also known to have been interrupted by two periods of exile, the archonship of his accession could not be reached merely by counting back nineteen years.<sup>23</sup> There may well have been, however, another tradition to the effect that Peisistratus' first accession was just a generation before his death. This is the sort of chronological detail we expect to find in oral tradition, and it is one which fits our sources with such neatness that we might almost say that since the tradition of a generation between Peisistratus' first accession and his death is not reported to us we must invent it. But this would not be quite fair, since such a tradition has been reported to us, if only indirectly.

Let us go back for a moment to Aristotle's statement concerning the various periods of tyranny and exile. If he is counting inclusively, his two periods of exile add up to 21 years (11 plus 10); if we add to these 21 years of exile the 19 years of tyranny (a number which comes directly from Aristotle and indirectly from Herodotus), we have a total of 40 years from

<sup>22</sup> Hdt., V, 65; Arist., *Pol.*, 1315b gives 35 years presumably as a result of inclusive counting.

<sup>23</sup> This seems to me a strong argument against the now popular assumption that Herodotus' figure of 36 years must be applied to the *continuous* rule of Peisistratus and his sons. Cf. Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 372, n. 106. Elsewhere (*Atthis*, p. 374, n. 109), Jacoby insists that we must not infer anything in particular from the omission of this archon date. He considers Eusebius' date for Pallene (543-539) sufficient proof that the Atthides all mentioned Pallene under a certain year. This assertion is directly contradictory to other statements, e. g., p. 352, n. 56: "Atthidography . . . certainly did not date the battle of Pallene by the names of Kleisthenes, Hippias and Hipparchos, which stood in the list for years in the forties, but quite simply by the duration of the continuous tyranny." And p. 372, n. 103: "in that (Eusebius') chronology the (purely mechanical) shiftings of the various entries are more extensive; the numerous variants in the manuscripts do not permit us to establish the years originally given. Thus the murder of Hipparchus has been moved up to 518/17 B. C. and the battle of Pallene down to a year between 543/2 and 539/8 B. C. (for the entry Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων τὸ δεύτερον ἐβασίλευσεν surely refers to that battle)."



first accession to death. But Aristotle tells us that this period was 33 years. In these two figures of 33 and 40 we have the two definitions of a generation which were current in the fifth century.<sup>24</sup> Since both the whole (i. e. 33 years) and the sum of the parts (i. e. 11 plus 10 plus 19) point to one generation, though of different lengths, we must admit the existence of a tradition that a generation passed between Peisistratus' first accession and his death.

An attempt must be made to reconstruct the way in which the oral tradition concerning Peisistratus, most of which appears in Herodotus,<sup>25</sup> was developed by those whose aim it was to assign dates by archonships to the various phases of the tyranny. Let us assume a late fifth century historian, to be known temporarily as X. When X dealt with the era of Peisistratus, he found in Herodotus' *History* the duration of the whole tyranny (36 years) and of Peisistratus' second exile (10 years). To this he added the traditions which were presumably still oral of Hippias' seventeen-year tyranny and of the generation between Peisistratus' first accession and his death.<sup>26</sup> From these four figures,

<sup>24</sup> The 40-year generation seems to have been used by Hecataeus (Ed. Meyer, *Forsch. z. Alt. Gesch.*, I, pp. 153 ff.). Herodotus employed the results of calculation by 40-year generations, e. g. Heracles is 900 years before his time (II, 145, 4) and the generations of Spartan kings before 500 B. C. (VII, 204; VIII, 131) are 21:  $21 \times 40$  equals 840; 840 plus 500 equals 1340 B. C., which is about 900 years before Herodotus' time. Herodotus also, in at least one calculation (II, 142), allows three generations to a century.

<sup>25</sup> Jacoby's judgment in this matter appears to be somewhat contradictory. *Atthis*, p. 373, n. 106: "The arguments in the text are adduced to show that nothing in the way of tradition existed besides the statements of Herodotus, and that it is with these statements alone that the *Atthis* works in assigning events to archons' years." Contrast p. 195: "the data of oral tradition, viz. the 10 years of the last exile, and the 36 years of continuous tyranny, and, I think, the six and seven months as well, which (like many other details) Herodotus did not accept." Cf. also p. 203.

<sup>26</sup> It is possible to suggest why Herodotus ignored these details. For the first it is obvious that Herodotus' concern was with Peisistratus in Book I and with the end of the tyranny in Book V. Hippias' tenure did not come at a point when there was a need to digress from the main theme of the history to Athenian affairs. But it is also possible that the 17 years resulted from a calculation based on a combination of oral

others could be reached by simple calculation: Peisistratus' total rule must have been 19 years (36 minus 17); and as a generation was 40 years, Peisistratus' two exiles must have covered a total of 20 years (40 minus 19 equals 21) so that the first of these must have been 11 years (21 minus 10 equals 11). The length of the three tyrannies of Peisistratus would be the only detail which could not be derived in this way. How the five- and six-year lengths of the first two periods of rule which appear in the *Ath. Pol.* along with the eleven- and ten-year exiles were arrived at we can only guess. Perhaps it was on the principle of increasing tenure (5 to 6) in proportion to decreasing exile (11 to 10). At any rate, the resultant picture would be as follows (years are substituted for the names of archons which appeared in X's scheme, but we must remember that X was dealing not with numbers but with names):

- 567/6 Beginning of generation (i. e. 40 archons [years] before Peisistratus' death); Peisistratus' first accession.
- 562/1 Sixth year: Peisistratus' first exile.
- 551/0 Twelfth year: Peisistratus' second tyranny.
- 545/4 Seventh year: Peisistratus' second exile.
- 535/4 Eleventh year: Peisistratus' third tyranny.
- 528/7 End of generation: Peisistratus' death.

It will be noted that according to this scheme Herodotus' synchronism with Croesus falls during the second tyranny and that both first and third tyrannies, in their first full year, appear to have been celebrated by the reorganization or institution of

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tradition and study of the archon list, i. e. the memory that Peisistratus died shortly after the annual election of archons, so that Hippias did not hold that office in his first full year of rule, but only in his second; and the observation in the archon list that Hippias was archon in 526/5 (*Hesp.*, VIII [1939], p. 59). Hippias' first full year would then have been 527/6, and Peisistratus would have died toward the end of 528/7, i. e. in the 18th archonship before 511/10, thus leaving 17 years as Hippias' rule. The second detail of oral tradition not found in Herodotus is that of the generation between Peisistratus' first accession and death. Its absence seems to me more natural than its presence. So obvious is it that a generation will intervene between the accessions of father and son that such a statement is unnecessary. And perhaps the tradition itself rests on nothing more factual than this obviousness.

major Athenian festivals: in 566, the Panathenaea; in 534, the Dionysia.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the personal chronologies with which we began this study fit easily and neatly into this scheme. Hippias and Hipparchus, as *neaniai* in 551/0, may have been born between 573 and 568 so that Hipparchus may be in his fifties when enamoured of Harmodius, and Hippias need be little more than 80 at Marathon. Timonassa, being married in 560 or thereabouts, could give birth in 559 or later to Hegesistratus, who would then be of an age in 535 to lead Argive troops.

Thus X's chronology. But he was only the first to attempt the assignment of events to archonships in the sixth century. Nor was there uniformity in the definition of a generation. Other scholars, firm in their belief that there were three generations to a century, counted back through the archons to the 34th (inclusive) archon before Philoneos (528/7) to find the beginning of the 33-year generation of Peisistratus' tyrannies and exiles. The archonship of Comeas was thus designated as the only true and authoritative date of Peisistratus' first accession, and immediately all calculations concerning the length of rules and exiles within that generation were rendered unusable. But such was the number or authority of those who upheld the 33-year generation that the archonship of Comeas was accepted.

It was Aristotle's scholarship, his praiseworthy endeavor to consult and use variant sources, that produced the combination of chronology which we find in *Ath. Pol.*, 13 ff. Being himself committed to the archon-list attributions that were made by the Atthidographers on the basis of a 33-year generation, he gave the accepted dates by archonships. Then by calculation (whether his own or taken from the Atthidographers) of intervals between archon years he arrived at the figures 17 and 33. But for the generation between Peisistratus' first accession and his death the Atthidographers gave no breakdown into years for the periods of tyranny and exile. Nor could they once they had given up the 40-year generation, since the oral tradition (partially reported by Herodotus) with 19 years of tyranny (36 minus 17)

<sup>27</sup> The reorganization of the Panathenaea is dated to 566 by Pherecydes and Hellanicus (Marcell., *Vit. Thuc.*, 2 ff.). The reorganization is attributed to Peisistratus by Aristotle (frg. 637, p. 395 Rose). The Dionysia is dated to 534 by the Marmor Parium.

and two long exiles, of which one was 10 years, could not be taken over into the shorter generation. They could only avoid breaking down the period into exiles and tyrannies, or perhaps assume only one exile.<sup>28</sup> But Aristotle, anxious to present all relevant material, even at the risk of inconsistencies, has given us the 40-year generation's breakdown within the 33-year generation's framework.

Thus the traditions, with their long and short chronologies of Peisistratus' career.<sup>29</sup> But what of the facts? It appears that we know less than before and that we have given up definite numbers for a rather vague concept of a generation, which is not a generation in fact, to be arrived at by statistical evidence of sixth-century births and deaths, but an idea of a generation. Are we then to say that we cannot date Peisistratus' first accession more accurately than 33 to 40 years before his death? Or are we to accept one of these generations and declare that the other is a later correction? If either one is to be a correction, it should be the more logical and reasonable one, i. e.  $33\frac{1}{2}$  years, which represents the age at which a man who marries at 30 might reasonably expect to have a son. Why a generation should ever have been defined as 40 years is more difficult to see. Two possibilities suggest themselves: (1) that the generation was thought of not as the time it took for a man to replace himself but as the period of his effective activity, i. e. from legal adulthood at 30 to death at 70;<sup>30</sup> (2) that the 40-year generation came to Greece from the East where it was in use before the time of any of our extant Greek chronologers.<sup>31</sup>

If we find reason to believe that such a person as X not only existed and made use of the 40-year generation to make a framework of Attic chronology, but also was followed by chronologers who preferred a generation of  $33\frac{1}{2}$  years, we can at least be certain that the chronological inconsistencies in Peisistratus'

<sup>28</sup> Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 2, pp. 288 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Burn's long and short chronologies for the foundation of colonies, *J. H. S.*, LV (1935), pp. 130 ff.

<sup>30</sup> For 30 as the beginning of legal adulthood in Athens and Sparta: Xen., *Mem.*, I, 2, 35; Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 63, 3; Poll., VIII, 122; Plut., *Lyc.*, 25. For 70 as the natural end: e. g. Solon, 19 D.; Hdt., I, 32.

<sup>31</sup> See for example: *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* by G. F. Moore, pp. xxxvii ff.

career arose as outlined above, even though we may be no closer to his actual dates. Since Hellanicus, as the first of the Atthidographers<sup>32</sup> and the first to put early Athenian history in some kind of chronological order, is the obvious candidate, let us examine carefully once again the evidence for his definition of a generation.<sup>33</sup>

In *F. Gr. Hist.*, 4 F 169 (equals 323a F 22) Hellanicus dates the trial of Orestes with relation to three earlier Athenian trials: later by 9 generations than the suit between Ares and Poseidon concerning Halirrothius; later by 6 generations than the trial of Cephalus, son of Deioneus, for the murder of his wife Procris, daughter of Erechtheus; and later by 3 generations than the trial of Daedalus for the murder of his nephew. Since Orestes belongs to the generation after the Trojan War, we may reasonably expect that Hellanicus dated his trial in the rule of Demophon, since he puts the fall of Troy in the last year of Demophon's predecessor (4 F 152a). If Hellanicus was counting exclusively, his strict parallelism of trials would not work, i. e. 1 plus 3 plus 1 plus 3 plus 1 plus 3 plus 1 (the 1 in each case marking the generation of the trial) does not equal 1 plus 9 plus 1; instead, the formula must be: 1 plus 2 plus 1 plus 2 plus 1 plus 3 plus 1. But if his counting was inclusive of one term, the parallelism of triads may be kept, thus: 3 plus 3 plus 3 plus 3 plus 1 equals 9 plus 1. This suggests that Hellanicus used an Attic king-list which showed 10 kings or generations from, and including, the king in whose reign Ares was tried down through Demophon. But the king-list given in the *Marmor Parium* and Apollodorus (III, 14 ff.) and attributed without any convincing reason to Hellanicus by many scholars<sup>34</sup> includes 12 names and presumably 12 generations. Let us try out Hellanicus' dating of the trials on this 12-name list. We must date Ares' trial to Cranaus'

<sup>32</sup> Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 215 ff.; Pearson, *The Local Historians of Attica*, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Costanzi (*Riv. di storia antica*, 1904, pp. 348 ff.) arrives at a generation of  $33\frac{1}{2}$  years (sometimes rounded off to 30 years); Pearson (*Early Ionian Historians*, pp. 214 ff.) uses a generation of  $33\frac{1}{2}$  years, but as Prakken points out (*Studies in Greek Genealogical Chronology*, pp. 64 f.), this will not fit with Pearson's assumption that Hellanicus dated the fall of Troy in 1240 B. C.

<sup>34</sup> See Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, p. 215, n. 1 for bibliography.



	<i>Ex.</i>	<i>In.</i>	generation (by exclusive counting this is 9 generations before Demophon); Cephalus' trial must then fall in the reign of Pandion I, and Daedalus' trial in the reign of Pandion II. Since Daedalus is sometimes (Schol. on Soph., <i>O. C.</i> , 472; Plato, <i>Ion</i> , 533A) made the grandson of Erechtheus, he may belong to the generation of Pandion II; but Cephalus cannot be tried for the murder of Erechtheus' daughter in the
1 Cecrops			
2 Cranaus	T		
3 Amphict.		T	
4 Erichtho.			
5 Pandion	T		
6 Erechtheus		T	
7 Cecrops			
8 Pandion	T		
9 Aegeus		T	
10 Theseus			
11 Menesth.			
12 Demophon	T	T	

generation before Erechtheus. If this was Hellanicus' list, he could not have counted exclusively. By inclusive (of one term) counting on the same list, the trial of Ares must fall in Amphictyon's reign; the trial of Cephalus in Erechtheus' reign; and the trial of Daedalus in Aegeus' reign. Apollodorus (III, 15, 8) and others make Daedalus a great-grandson of Erechtheus and a cousin of Aegeus, so that his murder of his nephew may well belong to the generation of Aegeus; by this dating Cephalus' victim also belongs to the next generation after his trial, i. e. his victim is Erechtheus' daughter and his trial is dated to Erechtheus' generation. Therefore, we should expect that where a young man or girl is concerned, it is the generation of the parents that is operative.<sup>35</sup> Alcippe's violation by Halirrothius, which causes Ares' trial for the murder of the young man, should be dated to the generation of her parents, i. e. Aglaurus and Ares. Ares has no generation, but Aglaurus is represented as the daughter of Cecrops, and so belongs to the generation of Cranaus, not to that of Amphictyon. If then we have a right to assume, as I think we must, that Hellanicus used or invented a king-list in which each king represented a generation, this can not be the list which he used. We must not fall into the "modernist" fallacy exemplified in Pearson's treatment<sup>36</sup> of this fragment. Pearson assumes that Hellanicus was using "dates" as well as generations, i. e. that Hellanicus assigned numbers of years to the reigns of kings and then dated the trials to specific years under

<sup>35</sup> This appears to be unexpected support for the possibility that the 40-year generation defines the effective period of a man's life from 30 to 70 years, since it would be during this period that his daughters and sons would be married and/or murdered.

<sup>36</sup> Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, pp. 217 f.



those reigns; then counting the number of years between these trials, he converted those numbers into generations, so that when he says 9 generations he means 300 years (which happens to be 9 kings by Pearson's exclusive counting) or when he says 6 generations he means 200 years (which happens to be only 5 kings by the same method of counting). Although this is a logical approach to the problem, it does not take into account the early chronologers' concept of a generation as an end in itself rather than as a means to a date. For the sake of relative order the early chronologer grouped and classified mythological figures whose activities seemed to be contemporaneous into "generations" (to which he might assign a definite length of time for the sake of absolute chronology). He then used these generations as units, without distinguishing whether an event occurred early or late in a generation,<sup>37</sup> so that an event occurring in D's generation, whether at the beginning or end, was later by 3 generations than an event occurring in A's generation, whether early or late. He did not say that events occurring at the beginning of A's generation and the end of D's generation were separated by almost 133 years and so by 4 generations. That is, the generation was primarily the group of contemporaries (or more properly, co-generationists), not a number of years. Thus for Hellanicus the Attic king-list served as a skeleton of generations to which other persons and events in Athenian mythology could be attached; only by considering each reign a generation could he use this framework to produce more order than disorder.

Since this point that the reign and generation must be the same has already been made by Jacoby,<sup>38</sup> there is no need further to labor it here. And as Jacoby also stated (*ibid.*), it follows from F 169 that Hellanicus must have had 10 generations where the later chronologers had 12, including the two "namesakes" Cecrops

<sup>37</sup> Hellanicus seems to have further refined his system in connection with the Argive priestesses, so that in 4 F 79 the first Sicel invasion of Sicily is dated to the 26th year of Alcyone. But this seems to have been arrived at by making the second invasion two generations (80 years) before the beginning of the Trojan War (which ended ten years later with its generation) and so the 31st year of Alcyone's generation. The first invasion was allowed to precede by a formulaic five years and so was dated to the 26th year. In this sort of calculation generations are still used as units, but the need to quote specific years leads to some calculation within the generation.

<sup>38</sup> *Marm. Par.*, p. 137.

II and Pandion II. A king-list of 10 will not have the two namesakes and must also, to satisfy the requirement of F 169, be arranged so that the trials will fit into the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th generations. That is, Erechtheus and Erichthonius must change places; and of the two namesakes Cecrops II and what appears to

1 Cecrops	(Ares)	be Pandion I must be omitted. For keep-
2 Cranaus		ing Cecrops, the earthborn, first of the
3 Amphictyon		dynasty, no justification is needed. But
4 Erechtheus	(Cephalus)	the use of what appears to be the second
5 Erichthonius		Pandion must be explained in connec-
6 Pandion		tion with the exchange between Erech-
7 Aegeus	(Daedalus)	theus and Erichthonius. Though appar-
8 Theseus		ently once identical with Erechtheus,
9 Menestheus		
10 Demophon	(Orestes)	

by the fifth century Erichthonius had attained a separate personality (Roscher, *s. v.*), although his relationship with Erechtheus was not yet defined. Originally both were born of earth (Homer, *Il.*, II, 548; Apollod., III, 14, 6); later the parentage of Erechtheus is humanized, but that of Erichthonius never is. It seems likely that Erechtheus was the original figure, whose etymologizing by-name, Erichthonius, took on an independent existence, taking with it the earth-born characteristics of Erechtheus. Hellanicus himself, as Jacoby suggests (*Atthis*, p. 126), may have been the first to include Erechtheus' by-form in the king-list, so that a position in the list immediately after Erechtheus would have been reasonable. But as Erichthonius developed his earth-born character while Erechtheus became more humanized, the former would seem to be more primitive (closer to Cecrops), and they would change places in such a way that Erichthonius carried along with him his son Pandion to father Erechtheus. But then since Pandion had already developed relationships downward (father of Aegeus) as well as upward, his move facilitated the insertion of a second Pandion.

In this king-list of 10 generations, then, the trial of Orestes takes place in Demophon's reign, the 10th generation (there can be little doubt that the successor of Menestheus and the son of Agamemnon belonged to the same generation, although the absence of both Theseus and his sons from Homer considerably disarranged the Athenian royal family's chronology). The trial of Daedalus takes place in Aegeus' generation (7th), although his victim belongs to the next generation (whatever Daedalus' relationship to the royal line, his activities belong to the genera-

tion before Theseus). The trial of Cephalus belongs likewise to the generation before that of his victim, the daughter of Erechtheus, and so to Erechtheus' generation (4th). And so, following this same principle, the trial of Ares should belong to the generation before that of his victim, Halirrothius, who should in turn be a generation before his victim, Alcippe, the daughter of Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops,<sup>39</sup> and hence to the generation of Cecrops.

But this 10-king list of Hellanicus was inflated by the two namesakes to a 12-king list. The explanation and motivation of the inflation lies in the ratio between two definitions of a generation: 12 times  $33\frac{1}{3}$  equals 10 times 40. It seems necessary to assume that it was Hellanicus who first put in order the early Athenian chronology and that following Hecataeus he used a generation of 40 years. As a result, even when his successors in Atthidography were converted to a generation of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years, they continued to use his framework, by which Athenian generations had been tied in with the generations of general Greek mythology. So for Hellanicus' span of 400 years from the beginning of Cecrops' generation to the end of Demophon's they must have 12 generations instead of 10.

We have come far from the generation of Peisistratus, but can now return, confident that the first Atthidographer who worked out in detail the Peisistratean chronology used a generation of 40 years. We have seen, also, how later Atthidographers turned away from the 40-year generation and adopted one of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years. It was Aristotle, indefatigable in taking notes from various sources which were not always completely digested and reconciled, who took from Hellanicus the internal chronology of Peisistratus' generation but summed up that generation as a whole in accordance with later Atthidographers.

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<sup>39</sup> Unless perhaps the second Aglaurus is also a namesake inserted to bring the trial down into Cranaus' generation. This might well have arisen from a deliberate misunderstanding of Hellanicus (323a F 1) where Alcippe is described as the daughter of Ares and Ἀγλαύρου τῆς Κέκροπος (which may be wife or daughter). Also the notice in Suidas *φοινικῆα γράμματα*, where the Aglaurus who is sister to Herse and Pandrosus (usually daughters of Cecrops) is a daughter of Actaeon (Actaeus), suggests a tradition in which Aglaurus is singular rather than dual.

## REVIEWS.

ETTORE PARATORE. *Tacito*. Milan and Varese, Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1951. Pp. 849. Lire 4000. (*La Biblioteca Storica Universitaria*, Serie II Monografie, Volume III.)

From Richard Reitzenstein's influential *Tacitus der gestaltende Künstler* in 1926 to Walker's fascinating *The Annals of Tacitus: a Study in the Writing of History* in 1952 it has been customary to praise Tacitus as an artist and to denounce him as an historian. No one will deny the eminence of Tacitus, "the poet of history," as a great artist; but Tacitus wanted to be an historian, and as Klingner in *Die Antike*, 1932, insisted, we cannot take refuge in the esthetic: we must judge him as an historian. The modern way of writing history is not the only way. For all its poetic color and intuitive reasoning the *Annals* of Tacitus cannot possibly be judged by the same standard as the *Aeneid*.

Among students of Tacitus, outside of Italy, there has been a tendency to overemphasize the *Annals* at the expense of the *Histories*, and the, of course, justified objections of modern scholars everywhere to the unfair portrait of Tiberius have thrown light from all sides upon the weakness of Tacitus. However, the irritation which Mommsen and von Pöhlmann felt against Tacitus arose out of the ancient historian's failure to give them easy information about problems in which *they* were interested, not because he failed to treat any problem at all. In a thoughtful study of nineteen pages, *Tacitus als Politiker* (Stuttgart, 1924), Joseph Vogt stressed the interest of Tacitus in the political problems of his own day and in their background. He also stressed the change in attitude between the writing of the *Agricola* and the writing of the *Annals* and attributed it to a disappointment in Trajan. Klingner established the importance of the reign of Domitian upon the thought of Tacitus, but he denied any profound change later. However, others agreed with Vogt that a change occurred after the reign of Domitian. Whereas Vogt rather placed the change before the composition of the *Histories*, Francesco Arnaldi, *Due capitoli su Tacito* (Naples, 1945), argued that it fell between the composition date of the *Histories* and that of the *Annals*. These are the problems which chiefly interest Ettore Paratore in a study, *Tacito*, which deserves to rank as one of the most important books on Tacitus, a book which contains many controversial opinions, some unacceptable statements, much that is new and very stimulating. For all its formidable length it is certainly no mere rehash of the work of other scholars; the progress made by scholars of Continental Europe including Ernst Kornemann, *Tacitus* (Wiesbaden, 1947) and Philippe Willeumier, *Tacite, l'homme et l'œuvre* (Paris, 1949)—Britishers and Americans are less familiar to him—is absorbed and reproduced, often in a more accurate formulation, and then carried further.

The differences between the approach of Paratore and that of his predecessors in the analysis of the historian's attitude toward the problems of his age are many, but the most fundamental differences are two. First Paratore rules out evidence from the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* on the grounds that it is not a work of Tacitus. He includes some weak arguments in support of his own opinion, but he faces the arguments for the work's genuineness and faces them fairly. As one rereads, say, Reitzenstein after Paratore, it is striking that prejudices arising from the *Dialogus* have produced quite artificial interpretations of passages in the historical work of Tacitus, and in fact it is not too much to say that for some reason or other the *Dialogus* has confused our understanding of the historian's attitude toward the problems of his age. Perhaps the evidence of the *Dialogus* has not yet been skillfully integrated, but the reviewer is inclined to agree with Paratore that it cannot be used. There is at least sufficient doubt of its authenticity to disqualify it. Secondly Paratore draws a sharp and sound distinction between the Tacitus of the *Histories* and the Tacitus of the *Annals*.

In the Introduction the author reviews with many acute observations the tradition in which Tacitus wrote, his personality and his Thucydidean attitude of mind. Like Joseph Martin he puts emphasis on the speeches and the digressions as the truly Tacitean parts. He protests against those who concentrate on the reconstruction of a moral and religious system as the hinge of Tacitus' personality. Only a unity of a political character really exists in the work of Tacitus: it is the Roman rule, about the existence and destiny of which he meditates and torments himself, his vision of imperial Rome.

In a chapter on the historian's background Paratore first treats the theories concerning the origin of Tacitus, specifically whether the historian came from the city of Rome, from an Italian municipium, or from Gaul. The Gallie origin, he says, while not proved, remains the most likely, and it seems that Gaul is the center from which he looks at the world. The reviewer not only agrees heartily that Tacitus came from Gaul but admires Paratore's plan in which he attempts to reconstruct the society in which Tacitus grew up. However, the stimulating reconstruction is incomplete. There is no realization of the importance of all the difference between Italian families in any province and families of local origin, the merging of local groups or the strain of resistance, the widening or the narrowing of local oligarchies. Yet some of the comments on the attitude of senatorial families are excellent, for instance on the profound cleavage in the ruling class between the austere intransigence of its political ideas and the nature ever more varied and composite of its elements which weakened from within its power to stand up and fight. The Senate, he says, inherited the attitude of Caesar's colleague M. Calpurnius Bibulus: inertia and acquiescence became virtues. The behavior of Agricola in 69 A. D. did not have the coherence which Tacitus, who did not yet understand, tried to give it *post eventum*. Agricola, whose wife had just been murdered by the Othoniani, joined Vespasian whose first troops were Othoniani, because Vespasian had wooed him. He became a favorite of Domitian. Many senators of the Flavian party now had a guilty con-



science: "from this comes that very strong tendency to distinguish the reign of Domitian from those of Vespasian and Titus, to recreate for themselves a certain virginity by proving that joining the Flavians was justified in the excellent example provided by the first two representatives of the dynasty, whereas Domitian, disappointing the Senate's good faith, first made it an involuntary accomplice and then a victim of his unforeseen metamorphosis into a tyrant." Paratore sees Tacitus partly even using the dead Agricola in order to present himself as the voice of those right-thinking circles who had worked with Domitian but who were now trying to gain a place as supporters of Nerva and Trajan; perhaps there is in the mind of Paratore too close an analogy between the situations after Domitian and Mussolini, though undoubtedly he well understands the way men react to tyranny. A new and arresting suggestion is contributed that in the exordium of the *Agricola* Tacitus tries to present his hero as a martyr of liberty, though Paratore speaks of the absurd task of composing for the prudent Agricola a biography like those about Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio. Men like Tacitus and Pliny, who had continued the attitude of Agricola even in the worst hours, had never compromised themselves, but did not renounce, he says, for all that, the halo of martyrs even of the sixth day. Paratore treats interestingly but perforce conjecturally the effect of the recall of Agricola upon the whole family, and he concludes that Tacitus began to write in the spirit of the biographer of Thræsa Paetus and then learned from Thucydides and Sallust. Through his family experiences and his own political activity Tacitus discovered his true vocation, that of an historian animated by the need to see clearly in the world where he has hitherto lived.

After a chapter on the problem of the *Dialogus*, which he suggests may well be a work of Trajan's secretary Titinius Capito, he returns again to the *Agricola*, and discusses the influence of Sallust and the Thucydidean approach as in the paired speeches of Agricola and Calgacus. He finds that despite its incomplete amalgamation and immaturity the *Agricola* has in embryo the two pillars on which the harmonious structure of the *Histories* will eventually rise, (1) the Tacitean interpretation of the imperial regime or internal policy, and (2) the Tacitean interpretation of the foreign policy or Rome's relation to subject and border peoples. But in both the *Agricola* and the *Germania*, he notes, a motif sonorously orchestrated in the *Histories* is entirely absent, that of the direct participation of the Occidental lands in the new, laborious, and bloody establishment of the imperial regime. Paratore returns to the old idea of Brunot that the *Germania* is really a fragment of the *Histories*, except that he gives it a new turn by coupling it with the Jewish archaeology of *Histories*, V, 5, to form a pair of distantly contrasting digressions, of which one grew too large and had to be published separately. Even on a first reading this seemed artificial to the reviewer, who believes that a more convincing interpretation of the *Germania's* genesis has now been given by Herbert Nesselhauf, "Tacitus und Domitian," *Hermes*, LXXX (1952), pp. 222-45. Still it should be read carefully, also what Paratore says about the rare vision of a youthful force containing a measureless potential of future great-



ness, and the reaction of Tacitus who judges like a true Roman in this, "the first great document of his maturity."

The section from page 341 to 570 constitutes in our opinion the best treatment of the *Histories* to be found anywhere, in its analysis both of the thought and of the style. For example, in Tacitus and especially in the Tacitus of the *Histories*, moralism, says Paratore, always has the function of heightening the narrative with color; it is mere dressing, not the prime substance of it, though it reveals the source of the Tacitean spirit in the choice of means of expression. Precisely that which has hitherto been regarded as the essential aspect of Tacitus, that of the artist, is determined, conditioned by his moralistic tendencies, and these in their turn are nourished by the special political bent which has impelled Tacitus to feed passionately on certain ideological and literary models. The motif of military indiscipline, for instance, is no moralistic motif but part of his interest in the military problem. Notations apparently moralistic obey a rigorously coherent rhythm of both political and artistic intuition. The moral reflections are not just rhetorical topoi but reveal a more solid and factual coherence, based on their precise reference to the situations and events which call them forth. In this spontaneous unity is one of the elements of fascination and dignity in the *Histories*, which even in this indirect way show themselves conceived and guided in obedience to an intimate need for historical and political clarification.

The two pillars of the Tacitean interpretation of the period 69-96 A. D. are formulated as the problem of the succession and the problem of Rome's relation to the provinces. Borrowing from the thesis of Guglielmo Manfrè, *La crisi politica dell'anno 68-69 d. C.* (Bologna, 1947), Paratore emphasizes the close connection between a Roman army of this period and the provinces in which it was recruited and lived, and says that for the first time the provinces through their troops determine who the emperor will be. As two high points he appreciates the speech of Galba on the adoption of Piso and the speech of Petilius Cerialis. For the right of succession Tacitus repudiates both the dynastic principle and the criterion of armed force. He now sees the party of Vespasian in a different light, but he still believes in the possibility of a compromise between the old republic and the new imperial actuality. The big change in Tacitus occurs, not between the *Agricola* and the *Histories*, but between the latter and the *Annals*. The author of the *Histories* still believes in Trajan, and what he really wants is a codification of the comfortable example of Trajan's adoption by Nerva. It is Italy and the Senate which represent the unity of the empire; but the crisis of 69 A. D. was not resolved by these forces but by the dangerous reawakening of the East.

The *Annals* seem to Paratore to have been published in installments, the earlier books under Trajan, the Neronian section under Hadrian. Tacitus, in Paratore's opinion, had already become disillusioned with Trajan and the principate before the semi-scandal of Hadrian's appointment, but the story in the *Vita Hadriani*, 4, that Trajan intended to leave it to the Senate to name his successor is exploited to show what the Senate hoped and expected. In deeply

probing discussion Paratore makes many contributions<sup>1</sup> and comes very close to opening a new door upon the *Annals*, but he seems to lose his way in the pessimism of the last work. He says that the *Histories* reflected Tacitus' own experience, not so the *Annals*. And he regrets that Tacitus is no longer interested in the same problems as the author of the *Histories*. But is it not a personal experience of Tacitus, the realization that the compromise between the constitution of the old republic and the new imperial actuality was impossible and that the Senate no longer had the necessary moral strength and that the principate was a tyrannical institution *per se* which must inevitably corrupt or undermine any incumbent? Is not this too a successful attempt to win historical and political clarity, to penetrate through a maze of false propaganda and credulity to the truth about the very soul of the empire? It seems to the reviewer that it was a man with remarkable historical insight who probably still in the reign of the *optimus princeps*, in a period when almost everyone believed that the emperor represented all segments and embodied the state, deliberately turned away from an appreciation of the new conditions and wrote instead about Rome's increasing servility and despotism. He starts with the decisive moment of the challenge upon the death of Augustus, the institution of the hereditary principate, and carries the reader through failure after failure and through the growth of arbitrary government by the emperor and his favorites and female relatives to the inevitable and almost final collapse in 68 A. D. Tacitus was the first to realize clearly that the Roman world was moving toward despotism and a slave state despite all the superficial improvement in administrative techniques. It was not that he failed to see the greater efficiency which almost everyone else saw. He saw it, but at the same time he saw something which others could not always see: *dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpitur*. The violation of the ancient *libertas* did become more open and flagrant under Tiberius, even if Tacitus is wrong in detail, even at times in generalization, and does not, because of the distance, really quite understand this emperor. The weaknesses which he attributes to the characters of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero are not untrue, not irrelevant; and if much that we wish to know about the successful policies of this or that emperor is not stated, his subject, the withering of Roman liberty and order at the core, dispenses him from giving it.

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<sup>1</sup> His interpretation (pp. 637 ff.) of the policy of Domitian as anti-oriental is not the best. At Athens and Delphi Domitian looked like a philhellene.

**Aesopica: A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to him or Closely Connected with the Literary Tradition that Bears his Name.** Collected and critically edited, in part translated from Oriental languages, with a commentary and historical essay by BEN EDWIN PERRY. Volume I: Greek and Latin Texts. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1952. Pp. xxvi + 765. \$15.

As the title indicates, the scope of this work as a whole is enormous and demands an almost Scaligerian degree of labor and learning. This magnificent first volume of the projected series of three or four gives ample evidence that Perry is equal to the task. Herein is to be found "the substance, though not the various forms . . . of everything ascribed to Aesop or said about him in Greek literature down to the fall of Constantinople, and in Latin literature through Romulus, together with all the different fables, whether ascribed to Aesop or not, which were plainly regarded by the ancients as 'Aesopic.'" Nothing approaching this in magnitude has existed before and it is safe to say that all future study of the Aesopic tradition will rest on this vast collection and careful sifting of the basic texts.

It is divided into seven parts, of which the first four (pp. 1-291) are concerned with the ancient Lives of Aesop, the pertinent testimonia, and new collections of the Aesopic sententiae and proverbs. The last three (pp. 292-765) contain new editions of the several corpora of the fables, both Greek and Latin, and indices.

The first feature of Part I is an *editio princeps* of the new version of the Vita, found in MS G (No. 397) of the J. P. Morgan Library in 1929. It is a highly remarkable document both in content and form. Textually it is in sad condition, horribly corrupted in many places, permeated with itacisms and other misspellings, and sporadically disrupted by what look like incorporated variants and other marginalia. Furthermore its relation to the previously known "Westermann" branch of the tradition is so peculiar that only partial help in reconstruction can be derived from the latter. The result is that the difficulties which it presents to an editor are tremendous. Perry has overcome some of these difficulties,—often, to be sure, by the use of drastic surgery—, and has produced a fairly readable text. This is in itself a major accomplishment, and it would be unprofitable to single out from his many restorations individual items for commendation or disagreement. The important fact is that the indispensable first step has been taken. Time will doubtless bring further improvements. Meanwhile Perry has gone on with his far larger accomplishment.

As a modest contribution to the continued study of this important text a few suggestions on minor points may not be amiss.

Page 35, line 2. For ὑπερησίαν read perhaps ὑπεραισίαν (cf. ὑπεραίσιος).

" 37, " 10. For ὕλην read ἰλύν.

- " 41, " 28. For *ταροῦ* read *στανροῦ*.  
 " 42, " 11. For *τὸ βαθύ* read *τῷ βάθει*.  
 " 43, " 2. For *κινηθέντα* read *κοινωθέντα*.  
 " 45, " 28. For *λάβθυμι* read *λάβθοιμι*.  
 " 56, " 24. For *τὸν λονόμενον* read *τῶν λουομένων*.  
 " 58, " 23. For *τῶν σκάφων* read *τὸν σκάφον*.  
 " 61, " 27. For *λόγου* read *λογικοῦ*.  
 " 62, " 17. For *ἡμερα τὸ σκότος ἐφιμήσθην*, read *σημειο-  
κόπος ἐφημήσθην*.

The second section of Part I contains a completely new edition of the previously known version of the Vita, published over a hundred years ago by Westermann on the basis of one inferior manuscript. In his article "The Text Tradition of the Greek Life of Aesop" (T. A. P. A., LXIV [1933], pp. 198-244) Perry has analysed the relationships of over a dozen manuscripts and assigned them to three main families. Using the *stemma codicum* which he then constructed, Perry has produced the finished text, supported by seventy-five pages of an exhaustive apparatus.

The marked incommensurability of the text of G with that of W would have made a general inclusion of G's readings more confusing than helpful. Therefore there has been no attempt in this apparatus to correlate the readings of the two traditions. It is quite significant that even in the more closely parallel passages of G and of W, G often presents a synonym which is not identical with the reading of either of the conflicting branches of the W tradition.

Extensive sampling here and there has disclosed no point on which one can seriously disagree with Perry's choice of readings, and the utter smoothness of the whole text, minutely supported at every point, makes it plain that this edition is probably a definitive one.

The third section of Part I is an *editio princeps* of a Latin translation of the Vita found in a single manuscript (Cod. Bellunensis Lollianus 26, s. xiv). Perry has noted that this is a translation from the missing first two-thirds of Cod. Vaticanus gr. 1192, which belongs to one important branch of the W tradition. Herein lies its chief value, rather than in anything new which it contains. The text seems to be adequately corrected and edited.

In the preface to Part I Perry presents his theory of the relationship of the G and W versions and the probable history of the whole Vita tradition. Rejecting as highly unsuited to the tastes of the classical age any early prototype of the Vita in book form, he puts the origin of the tradition in Egypt between the years 30 B. C. and 100 A. D., at which time a Grecizing Egyptian first assembled in book form the floating popular tales about Aesop. To this Greek material, the compiler added the Babylonian-Egyptian, Lyeurgus (Ahikar)—Nectanebo episodes, modifying them to suit Greco-Egyptian tastes. In his narrative the compiler significantly substituted Isis for Apollo as leader of the Muses and portrayed Apollo in an unfavorable light, by making him the enemy of Aesop.

This not only is a sign of Egyptian origin, but it also marks the earliest form of the tradition as deliberately anti-Apollinian, and hence anti-academic and probably anti-Greek. Relics of this stage are apparent in the G Vita which in cc. 4-8 introduces Isis, and not

Apollo, as the leader of the Muses, and in cc. 100 and 127, where mention is made of Apollo's anger at Aesop.

In the stages between the original form and the text of the W recension a gradual process of condensation, substitution, revision, and expurgation was carried on by academically minded rhetoricians, clearest traces of whose activities are seen in Libanius and Himerius in the fourth century. This process had two deliberate and related purposes,—to re-vindicate Apollo and to adapt the primitive Greco-Egyptian folk-narrative in content and form to the cultivated tastes of the Greek readers of their age.

Evidence for this is to be seen in the fact that the greatly condensed chapters four to eight of W have lost nearly every trace of the Isis episode, and chapters 100 and 127 of W contain no mention of the anger of Apollo. All this fits well with the sharp contrast between the rough popular character of the G narrative and the rhetorically polished literary character of W.

This is an attractive theory, forcefully presented and persuasively argued. Doubtless it is somewhat presumptuous for a reviewer who has not devoted long study to the subject as the author has done to offer adverse criticism on so important a point. Yet after careful concentration on the purely textual basis of the theory I am forced to confess to a feeling of profound uneasiness. With all its brilliant ramifications the whole argument is strictly cumulative and stands or falls on two basic assumptions. The first is that the G tradition alone contains the Isis motif and the W tradition does not. The second is that the presence of the Isis motif in G is an indication of an enmity toward Apollo, which, it is implied, appears prominently elsewhere in G. If we focus attention strictly upon the actual texts, what evidence of these two assumptions do we find?

In the first place, Perry's claim that Isis is foreign to the W tradition is very hard to accept. In all three branches of the W recension the most important manuscripts (MPWO) all contain definite evidence of her presence (*τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐπεὶς*), as Perry records in his apparatus (p. 136). Moreover the whole Isis episode in G (cc. 4-8) which covers fifty-eight lines of Perry's text reappears in W although it is condensed to sixteen lines. If the main purpose of W's condensation was to eliminate Isis, how does it happen that she still appears here so unmistakably? Again, Perry declares correctly (p. 18) that the G text and the W text are so closely parallel throughout in phraseology that the archetypes of both must have come from a single codex. If this is so, why may we not draw the natural conclusion that Isis has come down normally through both branches of the tradition? Perry's explanation (p. 82, n. 1) is that we have here an accidental intrusion into W from the older tradition. But once this episode is finished, Isis does not reappear anywhere in either text. Is it not a little queer that she should be accidentally injected into this one critically decisive passage?

In the second place, the motif of the anger of Apollo is mentioned twice only in the whole text of G, at chapters 100 and 127. In both places it is very loosely incidental to the main narrative and occupies a total of less than two lines. Also it is clearly stated in chapter 100 that Apollo's anger was caused solely by the fact that



Aesop placed *Mnemosyne* instead of Apollo in honor among the Muses in the shrine at Samos. There is no hint anywhere in either text of any connection between this and the Isis motif. The latter comes in chapters 4-8. In chapter 33 of G Aesop is made to refer to Apollo as "leader of the Muses" and "he who is greater than the Muses." The only allusion to the "enmity" of chapter 100 is an incidental one-line cross-reference in chapter 127 when Aesop is in Delphi. Even in the final scene of Aesop's imminent death at Delphi (c. 142 of G) he calls upon τὸν προστάτην τῶν Μουσῶν to avenge his unjust execution, apparently as unaware of any enmity on the part of the god as he is in the W tradition. Surely a Greek-hating Egyptian compiler could have built up a stronger case than this to promote antipathy towards Apollo! And is this worth the trouble for rhetoricians to expurgate?

No one who has read both versions can deny that G is clearly popular and W is relatively literary, but it does seem that there should be some further explanation of their relationship which rests on stronger and more extensive textual evidence.

Part II contains 105 testimonia, including cross-references, on Aesop and the history of his fables. They are collected from scores of authors, Greek and Latin, ranging from Herodotus to Maximus Planudes, and from Phaedrus to Isidore of Seville. It is difficult to add any really significant items to the list. However, I am a little pained to observe that for some reason the one romantic touch in the tradition of Aesop's life has been omitted. Theophylactus Simocatta in his *Epist.* 60 observes sagely, "ἅπαντα τῷ γυναικίῳ φύλῳ δεδουλοῦται," and then adds "Λαῖδος ὁ Διογένους ἐρᾷ, Σωστράτης ὁ Φρύγιος." I should like to know more about Sostrata.

This section not only constitutes an invaluable aid to all workers in the field, but contains brilliant and challenging suggestions and demonstrations of points on the periphery of the subject. Space permits mention of two or three only.

In notes on Testimonia 5 and 6 Perry demonstrates convincingly not only that the material on Aesop which appears in a fragment of Heraclides' *De Re Pub. Samiorum* (*F. H. G.*, II, 215) goes back to Aristotle's work of the same title,—a previously recognized fact—but also that this passage of Aristotle was in turn derived probably from the *Annales Samiorum* by Eugeon of Samos.

Again in a note on Testimonium 22 Perry gives good reason to think that another fragment of Heraclides (*F. H. G.*, II, 219) hitherto assigned to his *De Re Pub. Magnetum*, really comes from his *De Re Pub. Delphorum*. This turns on a brilliant substitution of the name Φάλης (cf. Plut., *Praec. Ger. Reip.*, 825B) for the MS Φάμυς.

In a note to Testimonium 64, in which Isidore of Seville attributes the origin of the fable to a certain Alcmaeon Crotoniensis, Perry suggests that this may have been the origin of "Loeman the storyteller" among the Moors of Spain. I discover that the same identification was made in 1848 by W. Hertzberg,<sup>1</sup> except that he reversed

<sup>1</sup> W. Hertzberg, "Abhandlung über den Begriff der Fabel, etc.," in *Babrius: Fabeln, übers. in deutschen Choliamben* (Halle, 1848), p. 125.



the process, deriving Alcmaeon from Loeman, apparently the "Locman Sapiens" of the Qurán. In any case, Perry's chronology is certainly superior!

Part III contains fifty-two of the so-called *sententiae* of Aesop, collected and edited from the Aesopic MSS, from the gnomologies of Maximus Confessor and of Georgides, from Stobaeus, and from other sources, including forty-four anonymous manuscript gnomologies. (Perry promises a new edition of Georgides.)

For some reason the *sententia* on the danger of habituation to grief cited in Stobaeus (IV, 44, 59) under the name of Sotion, but definitely assigned to Aesop by Plutarch (*Cons. ad Ux.*, 609 F) seems not to be included. It obviously belongs with the fable quoted both in this passage of Plutarch and also in *Cons. ad Apoll.*, 112A, which is Perry's Fable 462. Incidentally, the version in *Cons. ad Ux.* is considerably expanded over Perry's 462, but it, also, is not listed by him, presumably because it is being reserved for his commentary.

An interesting feature of this section, aside from its obviously great value as source material, is Perry's ingenious identification of Gregory Theologus as the true source of *sententiae* 31, 31a, which Crusius had mistaken as a fragment of an unknown metrical fable which served as the source of Babrius 86.

Part IV contains the most complete corpus of the Proverbs of Aesop ever assembled. Perry has fitted together the 143 proverbs of the Moscow-Dresden Αἰσώπων Λόγοι, thirty-six more from the Αἰσώπων Κοσμικαὶ Κωμωδίαι, twelve from the Παροιμία Αἰσώπων of cod. Flor. Laur. lvii 24, and nine extracts from Georgides, to make up a total of 200 proverbs. He suggests shrewdly (p. 262) that this number agrees well with that which the Moscow codex (Mosq. 239) may be estimated to have contained before its mutilation. All proverbs have been carefully re-edited after consultation of photostats.

By far the greater part of this large volume, both in extent and in importance, is devoted to the massive re-editing of the whole corpus of the Fables, the general Greek Aesopic corpus in Part V, the Sintypas collection in Part VI, and the whole Latin corpus in Part VII.

One may get some idea of the thoroughness of the work by noting that in his collection of 471 Greek fables, Perry presents at least forty more than have appeared in any previous collection, gathered from the new G Vita, from papyri, Dio Chrysostomus, Himerius, Themistius, Aristides, Nicephorus, and other sources. Some of these are rather doubtfully ascribed to Aesop, but others are almost certainly Aesopic, such as numbers 425, 428, 431, 432, 438, 439, 451, 452, 455, 461. Most interesting of these is 452, on the lawsuit between the wolf and the ass, which Perry unearthed from an anonymous "Progymnasmata" in Walz's *Rhetores Graeci*. This has affiliations with the famous "Reynard the Fox" story in its manifold medieval forms.

It is impossible to summarize Perry's work on the classification and evaluation of the complex manuscript tradition of the fables. All that can be done is to indicate briefly the progress he has made since he laid down the main outlines in his *Studies* of 1936. Since

then he has discovered a new manuscript (Cod. Thessalicus Meteorensis, no. 154, s. xv), a photostat of which he has deposited in the University of Illinois Library (no. 881 A3 1400 f), containing 193 fables and quite similar to Pg (Hausrath's F). He now believes that G (of the Fables) and Pb (the old Augustanus) are derived from the same codex which is more recent than the source of Pg, Mb, Ca (Hausrath's C, F, Cas), and that both of these sources come in turn from a still more ancient common source, which was already contaminated with the still older Ia recension (cf. Hausrath's K) and with the metrical fables.

Only a systematic comparison, fable by fable, with the texts of Chambry and of Hausrath could show the care with which Perry has reworked the older manuscript evidence and incorporated the new evidence from the 226 fables of G, which he considers the star witness for the Augustana tradition, itself the oldest and purest source of the Fables. It is a little disappointing, however, to observe the apparent scarcity of instances in which G actually offers good readings independently of the other manuscripts in the Augustana tradition. A sampling of some fifty fables taken at random throughout the collection revealed scarcely one, although very frequently G supported either Pa or Pb in what was apparently the correct reading. On the other hand the number of solitary errors of G far exceeded that of any other manuscript. If this holds true throughout, it would seem that G's chief value is that of an independent witness of respectable age which may tip the balance toward Pa or Pb in cases of equally possible variants.

In his preface to Part VI, which contains the fables of the "Sintypas" collection, Perry enters the field of the Oriental adjuncts to the Aesopic tradition which are to be further exploited in future volumes of this series. The collection consists of sixty-two fables. In choosing between the readings of the two groupings of the Greek manuscripts, Perry has relied on two criteria. One is the relative closeness of the Greek texts to the Syriac texts, and the other is the closer resemblance of one or the other to the language and style of Michael Andreopoulos whom he identifies as the original translator of these fables from their Syriac original. A non-Orientalist reviewer cannot follow him further but must stop at the border.

Part VII contains 254 Latin fables which have not appeared in Greek form earlier in the volume. These have been excerpted from Phaedrus (85 fables), Avianus (six fables), and most of the rest from the huge collection assembled from various sources by Hervieux (*Les Fabulistes Latins*<sup>2</sup> [Paris, 1894]). They are included only to round out the corpus and no attempt has been made to re-edit the texts.

A series of eight indices concludes the volume. Of these the title indices of both Greek and Latin fables will be most useful to the general student. All titles are repeated when necessary under different key words in alphabetical order, and fairly extensive subject-matter indices have been added. The only serious mechanical blemish of the volume has resulted from the accidental omission on page 723 of a series of eleven entries after ἀλώπηξ ἀρνίον καταφιλοῦσα καὶ κύων. These are to be inserted as follows:

ἀλώπηξ, ἄρκτος καὶ λέων θηρεύοντες 416.  
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ ἄρκτος 288.  
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ βάτος 19.  
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ γέρανός 426.  
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ ἔχινος 427.  
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ ἔχινος 96.  
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ Ζεύς 107.  
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ καρκίνος 116.  
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ κολοιός 126.  
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ κόραξ 124.  
 ἀλώπηξ καὶ κροκόδειλος 20.

On page 724 add in alphabetical order, ἀλώπηξ, λέων, καὶ ἔλαφος 336.

Whatever reservations one may make on individual points of theory, the fact remains that for the first time in this volume not only classicists, but also medievalists, students of comparative literature, folklorists, anthropologists, and others have before them *all* the original fable materials in Greek and Latin for use in future work in their respective fields. With the impetus provided by Perry's first volume, which will doubtless be intensified by his subsequent volumes, it is reasonable to look forward to greatly increased activity in this highly important branch of literary history. Meanwhile all scholars must congratulate the author on a work which in its massive and brilliant scholarship is easily the foremost contribution of the year to American classical philology and will have but few rivals in the present generation.

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F. KLINGNER, ed. *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*. 2nd ed. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1950. Pp. xxii + 4 + 378. \$3.75.

Klingner's new critical edition of Horace is not to be regarded as a thorough-going revision of the one which he had published in 1939.<sup>1</sup> Rather, it is intended to satisfy immediate needs for a complete text of the poet with an *apparatus criticus*, and it admittedly differs from the first version only in minor points. However, the restricted circulation of the latter, because of the inauspicious time of its appearance, perhaps justifies a somewhat more detailed consideration of the theoretical basis and other noteworthy features of the present book than would normally be accorded to an only slightly revised volume.

In the *praefatio* to the first edition, Klingner reviews summarily<sup>2</sup> the several theories held by the various scholars who have concerned

<sup>1</sup> A very brief description of the first edition, reviewed by A. P. McKinlay, can be found in *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), pp. 122-3.

<sup>2</sup> To supplement the skeletal account of the preface a reader should turn to the editor's long preliminary article in two parts in *Hermes*, LXX (1935), pp. 249-68, 361-403.

themselves with the text tradition of the poet since the commencement of a new era in this study with K(eller)-H(older)'s monumental work begun in the second half of the last century. K.-H. had sought to import order into the chaotic state of a plethora of codices by establishing, on the basis of variants, three separate classes of manuscripts (I, II, III), the hyparchetypes of which all were to be traced back to antiquity and derived from a single archetype of the first or second century. While maintaining the essential independence of these three classes of witnesses to the text of Horace, they nevertheless had observed fairly obvious textual affinities between their first and second classes in the lyric portions and between their first and third classes in the dactylic poems. These relationships had suggested to Christ and Leo further simplification which Vollmer and Garrod embodied in their text editions.<sup>3</sup> Vollmer, who preceded Klingner in editing Horace for the Teubner series, combined classes I and II of K.-H. into a single class which he designated as I (~ Garrod's *a*), and class III of K.-H. became II in Vollmer's edition (~ Garrod's *β*). Further, Vollmer contended that the two classes dated back no earlier than the ninth century when two copies were made from a single ancient exemplar which he derived from the Mavortian recension. However, such over-simplification of a truly complicated tradition does considerable violence to the observable facts of the actual situation, especially in that it obscures and distorts the inter-class relationships and the intra-class alignments of the individual codices in the several works, as they had already in great part been noted by Keller. Consequently, not many scholars were able to approve Vollmer's solution to the problem.

Then Klingner, some five years before the appearance of his first edition, undertook the delicate task of unravelling the intricate relationships of the more important manuscripts. To effect this, he invoked as a significant criterion of classification the titles which are affixed to the individual poems and are believed to go back to an ancient source.<sup>4</sup> This resort to such a criterion in the case of the Horatian tradition does not spring from academic dilly-dallying over minutiae of microscopic worth but is a matter of practical necessity and a frank acknowledgment that the quality and character of the variants in a tradition with apparent cross-currents are not always sufficiently decisive. The results which Klingner gained from a careful study of the titles were then shown to be confirmed by his interpretation of the evidence of the variants. His conclusions are important for the constitution of the critical *apparatus* which accompanies the text in his edition.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. v. Christ, "Horatiana," *Sitzb. Münch.*, I, 1 (1893), pp. 83-116; F. Leo, in his review of K.-H.'s 2nd edition of the 1st volume, *Gött. Anz.*, CLXVI (1904), pp. 849-56; F. Vollmer, "Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Horaz," *Philologus*, Suppl. X, 2 (1905), pp. 261-322; *id.*, *Q. Horati Flacci Carmina*, 2nd ed. maior (Leipzig, 1912); (E. C. Wickham-) H. W. Garrod, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1912).

<sup>4</sup> Although Klingner refers to this criterion as "ein neues Mittel," he really means, as he also states, that no one previously had exploited for classification to the same extent that he does the evidence of these titles, which certainly had not gone unnoticed; cf. his article, "Ueber die Recensio der Horazhandschriften I," *Hermes*, LXX (1935), p. 252.

The editor holds the view that the extant manuscripts of Horace can be traced back to *three* hyparchetypes which he designates as  $\Xi$ ,  $\Psi$  and  $Q$ . The codices which he includes under each of these classes are, by and large, those which K.-H. placed in their classes II, III and I, respectively.<sup>5</sup> But here Klingner would have the similarity between his threefold system of classification and that of K.-H. end. For while the latter assign all three to antiquity and state as their general rule (though wisely not always followed), "eas lectiones veras esse diximus, quae in duabus classibus congruae inveniantur,"<sup>6</sup> Klingner argues that only  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$  represent currents which go directly back to antiquity. His theory regarding the  $Q$ -class marks his chief contribution to this knotty problem.

Utilizing the evidence contained in the titles,<sup>7</sup> the editor deduces that the  $Q$ -class represents a ninth-century recension based on a collation of  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$ , or, more precisely, of the hyparchetypes of the extant manuscripts of the  $\Xi$ - and  $\Psi$ -classes. In the *Epodes*, where the situation is most transparent, he finds that "im Hyparchetypus, aus dem  $\alpha\gamma M$  stammen—wir nennen ihn  $Q$ —sind meist beide unvermischte Formen der Ueberschrift voneinander unterscheidbar beieinander gewesen."<sup>8</sup> For the *Odes*, on the other hand, the form of the titles apparently indicates that the scribe of  $Q$  followed a copy of the  $\Xi$ -class as his chief exemplar, with but very slight recourse to the  $\Psi$ -tradition. Further, a study of the distribution of the text variants in the extant manuscripts shows that this evidence is not in conflict with deductions based upon the titles.<sup>9</sup> In the dactylic portion of the Horatian corpus, where the testimony of the titles is indecisive, Klingner relies on the variant readings to determine the relationship of  $Q$  to  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$  and concludes that the scribe of  $Q$  "in arte poetica, . . . epistulis . . . utrumque genus diligenter adhibuit, ita tamen, ut corruptelas quidem plures generis  $\Psi$  admitteret. quod factum esse existimaverim ita, ut, quoad fieri posset, ad sese adplicaret . . . in fine operum, i. e. in sermonibus, neutri generi addictus utriusque lectiones prudenter expendit saepissimeque verum recepit; ubi dubitabat, utramque lectionem legentibus examinandam proposuit. ita factum est, ut interdum pars librorum generis  $Q$  cum  $\Xi$  consentiat, pars cum  $\Psi$ ."<sup>10</sup>

The editor's arguments for attributing  $Q$  to early Carolingian times rather than to pre-mediaeval are chiefly based on the observation that  $Q$  contains practically nothing characteristic of an old independent tradition, as plainly do  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$ ,<sup>11</sup> and that the manuscripts

<sup>5</sup> While the classes are "fixed," an individual manuscript may shift its allegiance from one class to another. It is this shifting which greatly complicates classification of a single codex.

<sup>6</sup> O. Keller-A. Holder, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*, I, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1899), p. lxxxiii.

<sup>7</sup> The titles are helpful for classification only in the lyric poems; cf. F. Klingner, *op. cit.* (see note 2), p. 377.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 361-403.

<sup>10</sup> F. Klingner, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1950), p. vii.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *id.*, *Hermes*, LXX (1935), p. 383, "Es dürfte nicht möglich sein, den Textbestand von  $Q$  auf  $\Xi$  und  $\Psi$  zurückzuführen, wenn  $Q$  aus dem Altertum stammen sollte."



which the scribe of Q employed in his collation must have been late representatives of the  $\Xi$ - and  $\Psi$ -classes, "quod . . . in ipsis titulis plerumque formam casu mancam corruptamque generum  $\Xi$  et  $\Psi$  reddit, qualis in libris manuscriptis eorum generum exstat."<sup>12</sup> Hence, he believes that a date in the early ninth century, at the time of the Carolingian Renaissance, squares best with these facts. Such a line of reasoning, of course, does not so effectively exclude the possibility of a much earlier date for the origin of Q as it admits the probability of a later date. Further, while denying to Q the high dignity of antiquity which K.-H. attribute to their corresponding class I, Klingner's theory by no means wholly deprives Q of importance even where the other two classes are otherwise represented. The editor feels obliged to explain the places where Q offers in the titles certain significant details unattested in the extant manuscripts of  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$  (e. g., in *Od.*, II, 4) or in the text a better reading than that of the usual representatives of  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$  (e. g., in *Epist.*, II, 1, 27) as most likely due to the circumstance that Q goes back to somewhat older and better copies of  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$  than the extant manuscripts of these latter classes. And herein lies the special value of Q as such.

Objectively considered, Klingner's theory of Q constitutes, in effect, a sort of compromise between K.-H.'s three-class system with three ancient hyparchetypes of independent value and a two-class system which, variously modified, found adherents in Christ, Leo, Vollmer, Garrod,<sup>13</sup> and, most recently, Lenchantin.<sup>14</sup> A study of the text situation makes it amply clear that there are two main currents of tradition in the surviving manuscripts of Horace. But, even apart from the hybrid nature of those codices which might be ranged conveniently under Klingner's Q or K.-H.'s I, the erratic behavior of individual codices or closely related ones which chiefly follow one current or the other strongly suggests that the archetype itself as well as the hyparchetypes carried in the margins and interlinearly a rich store of variants and glosses which in varying degrees appear in the text of the manuscripts which we now have. Because of apparent cross-currents, which may not be always due to later contamination or correction, a rigid classification of the codices is, of course, precluded. One solution to such a problem is to do as Vollmer, Garrod, and Klingner have done.. The manuscripts can be arranged according to groups and sub-groups on the basis of agreements *en gros* while cognizance is taken of their individual vagaries as they occur. Such procedure is usually (but not always) conducive to a neat and compact *apparatus*. However, where one class is weakly represented, as  $\Xi$  in the *Satires* and *Epistles*, the

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, *Q. H. Flacci Opera*, 2nd ed., pp. vii-viii.

<sup>13</sup> See note 3. Christ, to be sure, speaks of "mindestens drei Archetypen des Altertums," but he evidently intends one of them to account for the tradition of the lost Blandinianus vetustissimus, which Klingner also regards as derived, in part at least, from a *tertius fons antiquus*; cf. W. v. Christ, *op. cit.* (see note 3), p. 114, and also *infra*, pp. 91-2 of this review. The older extant manuscripts are apparently divided by Christ into two main groups.

<sup>14</sup> Lenchantin's emphasis on classes of variants rather than of manuscripts will be considered below.



situation often becomes quite uncertain. An example in point is *Epist.*, I, 3, 24. At the bottom of the page, immediately above the *apparatus*, Klingner lists, as usual, according to class, the principal manuscripts used for the constitution of the text:

Ξ: C acc. inter. (= aA<sub>γ</sub>M acc. inter. R<sub>π</sub>)g Ψ: Fλ'δπRQ.

Now, the correct reading *respondere* is found in all manuscripts except C, which gives *responsare*. In the *apparatus* the editor reports the readings thus: *respondere* Ψ *responsare* Ξ. Yet who would venture to deny that *responsare* might be the peculiar error of only a single manuscript and not of an entire class? Again, the classifier can be baffled when, as in *Od.*, I, 21, 5, one or more witnesses to each class part company with their fellows and agree with representatives of another class in an error.

Hence, in their *apparatus*, most editors, like K.-H., Villeneuve, and Lenchantin, deal with the problem of classification (or rather avoid it) by dispensing with class *sigla* and recording for each reading the manuscripts in which it is found. What such a method loses in neatness and brevity is more than amply compensated for by the clear unprejudiced view of the situation which is afforded the reader at every point. Moreover, Lenchantin attempts to supply a theoretical basis on which to justify such procedure by advocating, in lieu of manuscript classification, the principle of variant classification as a criterion for distinguishing in the surviving codices the currents which ultimately derive from antiquity.<sup>15</sup> In this way, he circumvents the difficulty which confronts Klingner wherever the constituent elements of an established class of manuscripts disagree in a reading. But Lenchantin's two-class theory of variants scarcely differs, in its total effect on the constitution of the text, from Klingner's theory of three classes of manuscripts, one of which, Q, is wholly derived from the other two, Ξ and Ψ—with a liberal dash of contamination, real or apparent, in each.<sup>16</sup> Despite their differences of approach to the problem, the fundamental agreement of these two great Horatian scholars of our time can most readily be seen when Klingner concedes, "quid verum sit, nec numero neque auctoritate testium diiudicari potest: expendendae sunt lectiones singulae," and Lenchantin states "ab alterutro genere in restituendo Horatio sumendum est quantum nulla opinione temere concepta veritatis speciem habet."<sup>17</sup>

The ingredients of Klingner's critical *apparatus* are compiled principally from a selection of the readings in K.-H.'s second edition. A

<sup>15</sup> Cf. M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, "Sulla tradizione manoscritta di Orazio," *Athenaeum*, N. S. XV (1937), pp. 137-46; *id.*, "Una nuova edizione critica di Orazio," *Riv. di filol.*, N. S. XVIII (1940), pp. 34-44; *id.*, "Diotosi e critica oraziana," *Rend. Ist. Lomb.*, LXXVII (1943-1944), pp. 310-14; *id.*, *Q. Horati Flacci Carminum Libri IV, Epodon Liber, Carmen Saeculare* (Turin, 1945), pp. xxxi-xxxii.

<sup>16</sup> Büchner, while heartily approving Klingner's demonstration, is much too severe in condemning Lenchantin for steering clear of the intricate problem of determining the class relationships of contaminated manuscripts; cf. K. Büchner, "Horaz. Bericht über das Schrifttum der Jahre 1929-1936," *Burs. Jahresb.*, CCLXVII (1939), p. 21, n. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Klingner's 2nd edition, p. xi; Lenchantin's edition (see note 15), p. xxxii.

collation of K (=codex S. Eugendi, nunc St. Claude n. 2, *saec.* xi), which was unknown to Keller, is added from Vollmer's second edition. Klingner's own contribution here is limited. After clarifying the position of R (= Vat. Reg. lat. 1703, *saec.* ix *med.*) in the tradition,<sup>18</sup> the editor learned that a portion of that manuscript (*Sat.*, II, 1, 16 *poteras*—II, 8, 95) which Keller and others had neglected because of its apparent lateness was actually written by different scribes in the same century and from the same source or sources as the rest of R. Hence, he incorporates into his *apparatus* significant readings from this portion of R along with a few from one quire, containing *Sat.*, II, 5, 30—II, 8, 95, in Vat. Ott. lat. 1660. This one quire, which appears to show strains of the  $\Xi$ -class, otherwise weakly attested here, is believed to have been written *saec.* ix *ex.*, although the rest of the manuscript is assigned to *saec.* xiv. Klingner also renders a useful service in the *apparatus* by rectifying K.-H.'s confusing report of the readings in the Munich manuscript (Monacensis lat. 14685, *saec.* xi). He properly departs from their use of the symbol C to designate its readings in *Od.*, I, 1, 1—III, 26, 12 and from their use of E to mark its readings in the *Epistles*. It is much more logical to reserve one symbol, E, for those portions of the codex which belong to the Q-class ( $\sim$  K.-H. I) and to keep another, C, for those parts (*Od.*, III, 27, 1—*A. P.*, 440; *Sat.*, I, 4, 122—I, 6, 40; II, 7, 118—II, 8, 95; *Epist.*, I, 1, 1—II, 2, 216) which go with the  $\Xi$ -class ( $\sim$  K.-H. II).<sup>19</sup>

So far as the now traditional problems of the Mavortian recension and of Cruquius' ill-fated Blandinianus vetustissimus are concerned, Klingner has little or nothing to offer. Indeed, a reader may be somewhat surprised at first to learn that the editor does not even mention in his preface the Mavortian subscription which is found in some manuscripts at the end of the book of *Epodes*. Surely, a brief word on the subject, even if it raises more questions than it answers regarding the tradition, would not be wholly out of place in a critical edition.

In the case of the Blandinianus vetustissimus, Klingner follows the school of those scholars who acknowledge the importance of its testimony. However, when he states that some of its peculiar readings are to be traced back to a third ancient source, one other than  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$ , he is assuming what has yet to be demonstrated.<sup>20</sup> The one reading to which this now destroyed manuscript most owes its reputation is, of course, that in *Sat.*, I, 6, 126, where, with the

<sup>18</sup> Vaticanus R, which is especially noteworthy for its preservation of old orthographical forms, is derived by Klingner from older representatives of Q and  $\Psi$  than those which are now extant. Since R is assigned to about the middle of the ninth century, a *terminus ante quem* for the origin of Q is established; cf. F. Klingner, *Hermes*, LXX (1935), pp. 366-71, 375-6, 384-9, 390, 399-402.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. F. Klingner, *ibid.*, pp. 380-1. The appearance of E in Klingner's *apparatus* at *Epist.*, I, 1, 71 and 72 must be a slip. A few other slight errors in the *apparatus* may conveniently be listed here: on *Od.*, III, 4, 29 read *om.* B; on *Od.*, III, 11, 30-31 read *31, 30* M; on *Sat.*, I, 3, 4 after *possit* read  $\Xi$  (*acc.*  $\gamma$ ) for  $\Psi$  (*acc.*  $\gamma$ ); on *Sat.*, I, 4, 60 omit the dittography; on *Sat.*, I, 7, 8 read  $\Psi$  (*acc.* K) for  $\Psi$  (*acc.* Q); on *Sat.*, II, 5, 24 read *seu* for *sen*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. p. viii of his new edition.

Gothanus and Paris. 9219, it offers the attractive *campum lusumque* (*lusitque* Gothanus) *trigonem* for the vulgate *rabiosi tempora signi*. But an examination of the witnesses to the text at this point shows that there is no cogent reason why the reading of the Blandinianus cannot here derive from the  $\Xi$ -class. In fact, a survey of the situation prompts the general conclusion that Klingner's  $\Xi$ -class in the *Satires* (and *Epistles*) is usually so weakly constituted that the assumption of a third ancient source to explain peculiar readings in the Blandinianus is precarious, if not gratuitous. Further, when, as in *Od.*, IV, 6, 21, he adopts, whether rightly or wrongly, as correct the reading *flexus*, found in the Blandinianus, in preference to *victus* of  $\Xi$  (including Q) and  $\Psi$ , which are apparently well represented here, the circumstance does not so much indicate the existence of a third ancient source as it illustrates the inherent limitations of editorial procedure which relies mainly upon the past labors of others for the testimony of manuscripts. For the reading *flexus* is now known to exist as a second-hand entry in two manuscripts, Vat. lat. 3866 (*saec.* xi) and Flor. Laur. 34, 1 (*saec.* x-xi),<sup>21</sup> both of which show marked characteristics of the editor's hybrid Q-class.

Klingner came to know about the former of these manuscripts, Vat. lat. 3866, which he had studied in facsimile, too late to incorporate its readings into the *apparatus* of his first edition, and the *temporum iniquitas* prevented him from using it even for his second edition. Similarly, while he claims to have recognized the value of Laurentian codices for the text since the spring of 1940, he was unable to avail himself of Flor. Laur. 34, 1 for the present edition. The editor was evidently unaware of the collation of the Laurentian codex which was published in 1892,<sup>22</sup> or of the superb facsimile reproduction which appeared in 1933,<sup>23</sup> or of Lenchantin's learned article on the manuscript in 1939.<sup>24</sup> However, a glance at some readings in the Laurentianus prompts Klingner to say that although it belongs to his Q-class, "potest tamen fieri, ut Laurentianus L peculiari quodam vinculo cognationis cum  $\Xi$  coniunctus ad inveniendas adgnosendasque lectiones eius generis quibusdam saturarum locis non inutilis esse videatur. eam quaestionem iniudicatam relinquo."<sup>25</sup>

Whatever special relationship between the Laurentianus and  $\Xi$  may later be determined,<sup>26</sup> the reviewer wishes here to suggest and

<sup>21</sup> Cf. M. Lenchantin's edition (see note 15), *ad loc.*

<sup>22</sup> P. Rasi's collation of the Laurentianus was printed in the preface of H. Stampini's *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (Modena, 1892), pp. xxxvii-lxi. A list of some readings from this manuscript may also be found, under the designation I, in the *descriptio classium* of K.-H.'s 2nd edition (see note 6), I, pp. lxxxiii-evii.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. E. Rostagno, *L'Orazio Laurenziano già di Francesco Petrarca* (Rome, 1933).

<sup>24</sup> M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, "Quale posto occupi nella tradizione manoscritta di Orazio il cod. Laurenziano xxxiv, 1, già in possesso di Francesco Petrarca," *Rend. Ist. Lomb.*, LXII (1939), pp. 429-35.

<sup>25</sup> F. Klingner's 2nd edition, p. xix.

<sup>26</sup> Klingner is perhaps suggesting a special connection of the Laurentianus with  $\Xi$  and Q in the *Satires*; compare his derivation of the Vaticanus R from Q and  $\Psi$ , on which see note 18.

A cursory examination of the facsimile edition of the Laurentianus

recommend that before any attempt is made to establish the affinities of any Horatian codex, a thorough and systematic examination should be conducted to ascertain, so far as possible, the date and source of the corrections and additions in the manuscripts with which it is compared. This is often difficult, sometimes impossible, but nevertheless indispensable if any degree of precision is to be achieved. Anyone who has himself wearied his eyes in reading manuscripts might sympathize with those who would avoid this laborious task, but the advance of palaeographical studies during the last half century has been such that a close re-examination of the source material for the text is eminently desirable. It is regrettable that in a critical edition of Horace so little space is devoted to a consideration of the various hands at work on codices which are employed to establish the text. Where this has been done, as in the case of Vaticanus R, much has been learned.<sup>27</sup> Further, a comparison of Klingner's *apparatus criticus* with the fuller one of K.-H. shows how extremely cavalier the present editor has been in recording the errors, corrections, and additions of the manuscripts which he cites. If, as is probable, this was done for economy of space, then the principles governing the selection should be clearly stated in the preface and adhered to in the *apparatus*.<sup>28</sup> It makes a

shows that it contains in the text many readings which differ from those attributed to Q in Klingner's *apparatus criticus*. In such instances, the Laurentianus usually agrees either with one of the other classes or with both of them. However, it should be observed that this agreement in the former case (i. e., Laurentianus with  $\Xi$  or  $\Psi$ ) usually involves what is generally considered the correct reading, in the latter case (i. e., Laurentianus with  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$ ) it always does. There are also places where the Laurentianus agrees with Q in the text but contains variants (apparently by different hands at times) which can be referred to one or both of the other classes. Before any definite conclusions can be drawn, a direct inspection of this codex by a competent palaeographer is needed to determine, with a detailed precision such as has not yet been done, the date of the very many corrections and additions in it. But, unless an intricate relationship between the Laurentianus and the other classes is to be constructed, its  $\Xi$ - and  $\Psi$ -readings, which are not found in Klingner's current Q-class and are not due to later contamination or interpolation, can still with some plausibility be attributed to a rather amorphous hyparchetype Q, crammed full with interlinear and marginal variants and glosses.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. F. Klingner's 2nd edition, pp. viii-xii.

<sup>28</sup> Klingner, it is true, does make it plain that he is interested in the readings of the individual manuscripts insofar as they reflect class relationships, "omissis levioribus mendis, quibus generis color non obscuratur"; cf. his 2nd edition, p. xvi. However, this procedure can sometimes be deceiving as new material is uncovered. For example, by omitting the reading *agnam* of M(ellicensis 177, saec. xi) at *Od.*, I, 4, 12 the editor would have the reader believe that Q, to which M belongs, had only the correct reading *agna*. But now the reading *agnam* is found in Vat. lat. 3866 and in Flor. Laur. 34, 1 by the first hand, and both these codices are believed to go with the hybrid Q-class; cf. M. Lenchantin's edition (see note 15), *ad loc.* Similarly, despite Klingner's silence, not all his  $\Psi$ -representatives give the correct *tamen* on *Od.*, I, 7, 22, for  $\phi\psi\delta\pi$  offer *ter*, an obvious but significant error. Again, at *Sat.*, II, 5, 36, it might have been well to record in the *apparatus* that

difference whether the reader knowingly is getting an incomplete view of the situation or unwittingly is receiving a distorted picture of the textual behavior of the individual manuscripts.

As for the text itself, the editor displays, on the whole, studied conservatism and self-restraint. None of the passages deleted (cf. *Od.*, II, 16, 21-24; III, 11, 17-20; IV, 8, 17 and 33; *Sat.*, I, 10, \*1-8; *Epist.*, I, 18, 91) is bracketed solely on his own authority; no transposition (cf. *Epod.*, 16, 61-62 after v. 52; *Epist.*, II, 1, 101 after v. 107; *A. P.*, 45 after v. 46) originates with him; no emendation is made or proposed by him, and out of about a score of emendations admitted into the text none is apparently later than the first half of the nineteenth century, most being considerably earlier—an interesting indication of the editor's own opinion of recent efforts at text correction in Horace.<sup>29</sup> The brief *testimonia*, which are conveniently given on each page between the text proper and the *apparatus*, are, for the most part, abstractions from the copious collection in K.-H.'s second edition.<sup>30</sup> Klingner claims as his own chief contribution on this score a careful re-examination of the Horatian *scholia* to determine more precisely than has heretofore been done the reading which the scholiast had before him. In view of this, it is somewhat surprising to find that he believes that on *Od.*, III, 24, 4 Porphyrio read, instead of *Tyrrhenum* of the codices, *terrenum*, which Lachmann "restored" to the text. But Porphyrio's note, taken for what it is worth, surely gives no warrant to think this. When he says, "... aedificiis novis non terram tantum, verum etiam maria occupantem," the point of emphasis is not on the first member of the expression, *terram*, the mention of which in Horace's coordinate phrase would be rather weak, but on the second part, *maria*, which incidentally is plural and may well indicate the mention of two seas in the poet's verse. Further, the use of specific geographic names is characteristic of his style. Hence, too, the variant *publicum*, which Klingner adopts in the same verse, is extremely dubious.

Finally, as in his first edition, Klingner concludes his volume with a series of appendices which he has taken over, with slight modifications and corrections, from Vollmer's edition. They contain useful information arranged under the familiar headings *Conspectus Metro-rum*, *Metrica et Prosodiaca*, *Notabilia Grammatica*, and *Index Nominum*.

In summary, we have here the second edition of a text with an *apparatus* which is more the product of an independent reassessment of the known evidence than of an original investigation for new material. A novel feature upon which it is based is the extent to which the titles affixed to the poems are employed in the classi-

most codices offer *quassa* instead of *cassa*, which the editor adopts, especially since the former reading has been retained and defended by some scholars; cf. P. Lejay, *Oeuvres d'Horace, Satires* (Paris, 1911), *ad loc.*

<sup>29</sup> One or two errors detected in the text may be noted here: *Epod.*, 17, 11 for *additum* perhaps *addictum*, the reading of most manuscripts, was intended—Klingner is silent in the *apparatus*, and *additum* is also found in Vollmer's edition, but cf. K.-H.'s edition *ad loc.*; *Epist.*, II, 1, 43 for *poneter* read *ponetur*.

<sup>30</sup> The scholion on Pers., 3, 93 is wrongly referred to *Sat.*, II, 4, 53. The reference should be to *Sat.*, II, 4, 55.



fication of the manuscripts. Its chief merit lies in redefining and illuminating some of the main problems of the text tradition. While it by no means renders obsolete the major editions of the past, still it can take a worthy place alongside most of them under the towering shadows of K.-H.'s elaborate second edition.

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GERHARD MÜLLER. Studien zu den platonischen Nomoi. Munich, C. H. Beck, 1950. Pp. 194. Bound, DM. 15. (*Zetemata: Monographien zur Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, herausgegeben von Erich Burck und Hans Diller, Heft 3.)

It is the thesis of this book that *Epinomis* and *Laws* stand together among the works of Plato in contrast to other works. After a brief statement of the problem there are chapters on the philosophy of the *Laws*, the style of *Laws* and *Epinomis*, and the political ideal of the *Laws*. A brief statement of conclusions and an index of references to passages in Plato complete the book.

The author concludes that the *Laws* was not left incomplete by Plato, was not a hasty production, was not in the least revised by an editor, and that *Laws* and *Epinomis* are separated from earlier works of Plato by a profound gulf. In these later works the lack of conceptual clarity, the awkwardness and artificiality of style, and the inconsistency of the political ideal betray a bastard mixture of genuine Platonism with trivialities that weaken and pervert it, and prepare the way for Hellenistic philosophy.

It is unusual to find a scholar who maintains that the *Epinomis* is genuine Plato, but not the *Epistles*. Müller thinks that the latter may be a work of fiction. He ignores the fact that, so far as we know, no ancient Greek ever wrote lively and moving prose fiction. To be sure the youthful Plato could write lively fiction. But who else could have produced anything as vivid and personal as the *Epistles*? The major concerns that appear in them, the oracular bursts of style, the apparent lack of organization, the sudden shifts of interest, and the heightened eloquence that betrays hidden springs of feeling are also found in the early books of the *Laws*.

Müller does not attempt to solve the problem why Plato wrote as he did in the *Laws*, and he avoids psychological analysis. He rightly notes that Wilamowitz was wrong in speaking of the tone of the work as pessimistic. Actually Plato seems never to have given up his belief in the fundamental rationality and goodness of life. Hence his readiness to grasp at any new discovery or new argument that might persuade the young to devote themselves to the task of political and moral reform. Failure made him only more determined. He wrote as he did because he was a man of many insights and great confidence in his own superiority. Jaeger and Wilamowitz rightly seek in his personality the clue to his variety.



If I were trying to demonstrate the genuineness of the *Epinomis*, I should lay chief stress on Raeder's statistics for hiatus and on Billig's for the clausulae. To avoid hiatus entirely or to imitate a fluent style like that of Isocrates might not be too hard, but to reproduce and exceed the tortured grandiloquence of the *Laws* and to show almost exactly the preference of Plato for certain clausulae is too much to expect of a forger on the scale of the *Epinomis*. Anyone with a feeling for rhythm must recognize the likeness of *Epinomis* to *Laws* in style at least. It is a much greater feat to find a formula that demonstrates statistically the identity of rhythm in the two works. Müller knows Raeder's work (*Platons Epinomis* [Copenhagen, 1938]) only through a review in *Gnomon* (XVI [1940], pp. 289 ff.) that does not mention his statistics for hiatus. He seems not to know the work of L. Billig ("Clausulae and Platonic Chronology," *Journal of Philology*, XXXV [1920], pp. 254 ff.), a work that has been most undeservedly neglected by nearly all scholars. It provides a much stronger argument for the genuineness of *Epinomis* and *Epistles* than the sort of evidence afforded by slight variations of vocabulary or syntax.

In fact the quest for a special rhythm may well account for much circumlocution and for such words as ἀλληλοφαγίας (975 A 5) and διαλεγόμεθα (990 C 1), which end or begin with Plato's preferred fourth paeon. It is usual to compare awkward writing in the *Epinomis* with inoffensive passages from the *Laws*. Müller's method is to cite awkward bits from the *Laws* to match the *Epinomis*. But parallels are so often inexact and interpretations or text so often uncertain that doctors are likely to go on disagreeing. Many arguments can be turned either way. I agree with Kurt von Fritz (*R.-E.*, s. v. "Philippos von Opus") that considerations of style do not prove the *Epinomis* to be un-Platonic.

The statement of Diogenes Laertius that Philip of Opus copied off the text of the *Laws* from wax tablets should not be taken to indicate that the *Laws* was not published until after Plato's death. Few old men can read without glasses. Plato presumably suffered from presbyopia and was unable to read his own writing or to use ink. The legislative part of the *Laws* must have been known to Isocrates before 353 B. C. when in his *Antidosis* (79-83) he belittles the writing of laws. See my article "The Preludes to Plato's *Laws*" (*T. A. P. A.*, LX [1929], pp. 1-24) for refutation of the arguments that are supposed to prove that the *Laws* was begun after 356 and for evidence that Books 1-5 come from the period before 361 when Plato hoped to educate the tyrant Dionysius. Plato's outlook shifted as he wrote, and as he became dependent on his amanuensis, he could no longer revise his work personally. Yet where there is corruption in our text of the *Laws*, it is sufficiently explained by normal errors of scribes. The *Laws*, be it noted, was much less read and corrected by readers than more popular works of Plato. The *Epinomis* was even less read. It was in fact totally neglected by one editor (A<sup>3</sup>O<sup>3</sup>) whose notes for the *Laws* appear in our two best manuscripts. Müller gives his opinion on textual questions, being in general against emendation. He intends to produce a new edition. His statement that nothing has been done for the text since Wilamowitz' book is

unjust to the editors of the Budé series and to others who have collated manuscripts of Plato.

One whose thesis compels him to seek inconsistency and obscurity in the *Laws* is armed against explanations that clarify the meaning. The first two books of the *Laws* are an argument against drunkenness using the indirect approach that teachers of rhetoric called "insinuation." There is more insinuation in the next book, still aimed at Dionysius the young tyrant, and pointing to his need of Dion and Plato to guide him. In Book 5 constitutional organization is discussed and from this point Plato has a less personal message. When later he discusses laws in detail there is another shift. He forgets his reformed state and produces a digest of Greek law as it existed in unreformed Athens or elsewhere with some changes.

Plato is fascinated by mathematical explanations of motion. I have noted cryptic references to cycloids (893 D, E) and to the principle of the lever (893 C, D) in the *Laws* (see *A. J. P.*, LXV [1944], pp. 339 f.). So sure was Plato that the motion of the planets could be explained by "circular movement" that he makes this an article of faith and raises astronomy to the position of highest wisdom. The *Epinomis* introduces new details, but I agree with Müller that Plato made the decisive step when in the *Laws* he apotheosized the physical heavens. It was nearly two thousand years before this error was retrieved.

Yet Plato would have classed the planetary motion, I suppose, as secondary, a motion of transmission, not of initiation. *Nous* is still the creator; hence *nous* is still prior to *logos*, which is only a partial formulation or expression of intelligence. It has not, I believe, been observed that *logos* in *Epin.* 986 C (συναποτελῶν κόσμον ὃν ἔταξεν λόγος ὁ πάντων θεϊότατος ὁρατόν) is part of a circumlocution for *theologia*. Since popular etymology has turned "good-spell" into "God-spell" in English, as the pronunciation indicates, we might translate: "Bringing to completion an ordered array that was marshaled by the gospelest gospel of all." *Logos* is not the creator, but the creator's design (λόγου καὶ διανοίας θεοῦ, *Tim.* 38 C), which becomes the visible pattern of celestial movement, a *logos* displayed in the sky (*Tim.* 47 B, C), which, when made a subject of study, becomes theology in the usual sense of the term. The order of God produces the order in the heavens, which in turn makes men who understand it orderly and capable of ordering the lives of others. Thus there is always a distinction between *nous* and *logos* in Plato, though Müller denies this.

To point out other cases where I do not accept Müller's interpretation would be tedious. It is not surprising that some of his many references are not quite accurate. Furthermore not all are included in the index. But no flaws can obscure the fact that this book argues an important matter and must be considered in any future discussion of its subject.

L. A. POST.

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MARCEL HOMBERT et CLAIRE PRÉAUX. *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine*. Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1952. (*Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, Vol. V.)

P. Bruxelles Inv. E. 7616 is part of a roll recording the census of 174 A. D. It is of special interest since few documents have been preserved from the Prosopite nome. Individual returns had been glued together for filing in the office of the royal scribe. After the necessary data had been recorded the rolls were sold for private use, and the verso of this document was used for farm accounts apparently within a year after the census was taken. Two returns from the village of Theresis are preserved on the recto (numbered 98-99), and the remainder (numbered 92-107) came from Thelbothon Siphtha.

Literacy was not high at Thelbothon Siphtha. Only two householders were able to make their own declarations. Apparently an itinerant commission appeared at this village on Epiph 25-26 going from house to house. They may have brought their own scribes with them. It is of interest to note that Pantbeus and his three brothers made two reports on the same day, one of the house where they and their families lived (Col. X), another of an unoccupied house and lot which they owned (Col. XVI). Different scribes wrote each declaration.

The text offers few difficulties. In Col. XII  $\rho\upsilon\upsilon\beta( )$  is probably not a place name but a building of uncertain nature. It is found frequently in Marmarica (*P. Vat.* 1). The abbreviation  $\alpha\nu\lambda$  in Col. V is not easily resolved. Is it possible to read  $\acute{\alpha}\pi(\epsilon)\lambda(\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma)$ ?

The publication of this roll has led the editors to make a comprehensive study of the Egyptian census, and this constitutes the major portion of the monograph. The evidence from the First Dynasty to Diocletian is conveniently summarized. Under the early Ptolemies, extant records are limited to registrations for the salt tax, but since this was a slight levy (4 ob. per man,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ob. per woman), it is probable that this registration served other purposes as well. Documents from the second century have as yet yielded no evidence for a census, but in the first century the *laographia* at Tebtynis indicates a census of the male population for the purpose of levying a capitation tax. Whether this was annual or taken at longer intervals cannot be determined with the available evidence. The editors reject the theory that a fourteen-year cycle existed in the Ptolemaic period and believe that the existence of such a cycle cannot be proved before 33/34 A. D.

The acute observation of the editors (p. 48) that the *epicrisis* of Tryphon and his family at Oxyrhynchus in the 41st year of Augustus was really a census return furnishes an important clue to the nature of the census under Augustus. Tryphon, aged 64, was a master weaver, and he had four sons aged 37, 34, 21, and 3 years, respectively (*P. Oxy.* 288). Obviously, this was not the usual *epicrisis* of lads about to be enrolled in the privileged class of taxpayers. They should have noted *P. Oxy.* 314, where the *epicrisis* of the same family is recorded for the 42nd year of Augustus. These documents

establish the fact that there was an annual census of males, or at least a census of males of the privileged class, in 11/12 and 12/13 A. D. We may call this a census of the *epicrisis* type to distinguish it from the later 'domicile' (κατ' οἰκίαν) type of the fourteen-year cycle. The former listed only male members of the household with ages and trade. Since minors were included, it may have been limited to the privileged class. There is insufficient evidence to determine the nature of the *graphe* of 4/5 A. D. (*P. Oxy.* 257, 1266; *P. S. I.* 457), but it may also represent an annual *epicrisis* (cf. *P. Oxy.* 255, 17). This annual census may be a continuation of the Ptolemaic *laographia*, but it should be noted that the latter is recorded only in villages, while the *epicrisis* of Augustus may be limited to metropolitans. There is no certainty about the meaning of the registration of public farmers at Theadelphia in 19 and 18 B. C. "wishing a subsidy" (θέλων σύνταξιν). A similar registration at Hermopolis under Maerinus and Quietus (Wilcken, *Chr.*, 425) was made in a period of famine. I agree with Wallace in questioning Wilcken's suggestion that τελῶν should be read instead of θέλων in the Theadelphia papyri. There seems no reason why public farmers should register as taxpayers.

While there is definite evidence of an annual census of the *epicrisis* type as late as 12/13 A. D., this may have been limited to the privileged group of metropolitans, but it is not impossible that all classes were numbered. Luke (2.1) implies that there was a universal registration of the Empire ordered by Augustus, and that the Syrian-Palestinian enrollment took place under Quirinius as governor. This registration may not have taken place in every province simultaneously, and there is no proof that the Syrian census was related to that in Egypt.

Was there a fourteen-year cycle for the registration of the entire population along with an annual *epicrisis* of the privileged metropolitans? I think that such a procedure is unlikely. In the post-Augustan period the census included all citizens of every age and sex, while the *epicrisis* was limited to sons of the privileged class to determine whether they were eligible for admission to the group. There was some reform between 13 and 34 A. D. Can this reform be dated with any certainty? There is nothing in the history of Egypt which seems to warrant dating this in 34 A. D., the first datable return of the new type, but if we carry the cycle back to 19/20 A. D. the evidence, though perhaps not conclusive, is more decisive. It is true that *P. Oxy.* 254 and *P. Milanese* 3 bear no actual date, but internal evidence indicates that both are dated about this time, when Eutychides and Theon were in office at Oxyrhynchus (*P. Oxy.* 252) and Harthotes, even if one allows for some inexactness in giving his age, must be contemporary. Both documents definitely belong to the 'domicile' type and neither one bears any affinity to the annual *epicrisis* of the Augustan period. Moreover, Tiberius was deeply concerned in Egyptian affairs at this time. Germanicus had been sent to Syria with an extraordinary command to settle affairs in the East. After Asiatic problems were settled, he visited Egypt. Tacitus would have us believe that he went as an ordinary tourist and without imperial knowledge or consent, and that

the emperor rebuked his son for violating one of the *arcana* of empire. Yet Germanicus evidently believed that his *imperium* extended over Egypt (*cura provinciae praetendebatur*) and he so acted in opening the granaries for the benefit of Alexandrians. Whether it was due to his recommendation or not, Tiberius made far-reaching reforms in Egyptian currency, and we may suspect that others were carried out at the same time. While it cannot be urged that there is definite proof that the fourteen-year cycle was inaugurated in 19/20 A. D., the cumulative effect of the evidence here cited points to that date.

The cycle of fourteen years remained in use until 257/8 A. D. It is uncertain whether Rome was in effective control of Egypt in 271/2, and there is no evidence of a census in that year. The *epigraphe* established by Diocletian in 287 seems to be based on a five-year cycle devised for the purpose of providing the military *annona*. This cycle, which had long existed in Egypt for land rentals and tax farming, was apparently the model for the *epigraphe*, and after 297 for the indiction. Although Diocletian called for a census of the people in proclaiming the indiction of 297, the revolt of Achilleus and Domitianus seems to have delayed the plan (*C. P.*, 1950, p. 13).

The remainder of this monograph is devoted to a study of the Egyptian census. The reviewer must here limit himself to a summary of important points. The doctrine of the *idia* or *origo* is examined for the first time in the light of the census returns. The *forma censualis* is set forth in the same way with all its manifold variations. Most valuable is a study of the purpose of the census. This was a numbering of the people primarily, but the returns were made not only to single officials, but also to groups of officials. In the latter case the returns passed through the various bureaus and pertinent facts were noted. The census thus provided material for various capitation taxes, army recruiting (though not so much in Egypt as in other provinces), liturgies, etc. The paper work involved not only for the declarer but also for the various bureaus was enormous. Finally, our modern editors use these returns in a valuable series of demographic studies. They rightly warn that statistics based on comparatively few surviving documents cannot be regarded as authoritative, but the results are no less interesting in dealing with various social phenomena such as brother-and-sister marriages, proportion of males to females, age of marriage, fecundity, and mortality.

This monograph is invaluable not only for a study of the Egyptian census, but also for social conditions. It is fully documented under each phase of the subject. Conflicting theories are stated fairly and impartially. The evidence is cited and the reader is able to form his own conclusions. From their familiarity with the sources, they have been able to suggest many new readings. This reviewer declines the function of proof reader but in reviewing this monograph he has verified many of the citations and in every case found them correct. For sound and accurate scholarship, this work is to be highly commended.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

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VIGGO BRØNDAL. *Théorie des Prépositions. Introduction à une sémantique rationnelle.* Traduction française par Pierre Naert. Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1950. Pp. xxii + 145. \$2.50.

Viggo Brøndal, who died in 1942, has been regarded in this country, rightly or wrongly, as occupying one pole in the so-called Danish school of structural linguistics, the other pole of which is held by the rather better known linguist, Louis Hjelmslev. In a recent article entitled "Directions in Modern Linguistics," *Language*, XXVII (1951), pp. 211-22, Einar Haugen gently reproved American structuralists for neglecting the parallel efforts of their Danish colleagues. He confessed that Hjelmslev's system of descriptive analysis ("glossematics") does indeed emphasize a factor of meaning which is anathema to some members of the American school. But at the same time he indicated that Hjelmslev, like his American counterparts, aimed at analysis of a language through criteria inherent in the language under discussion. With commendable fairness, Haugen went on to direct some well-merited criticisms against the circularity implicit in any such analysis which is made in terms of its own constituent utterances.

This was a palpable hit. Rulon Wells, *Language*, XXVII, pp. 554-70, in a long and arduous review of a volume of Danish structuralist essays, *Recherches Structurales 1949* (Copenhagen, 1949), interpreted with considerable subtlety the main ideas of Hjelmslev and his disciples. As a fugleman of the American descriptivists, Wells rose gamely to the defense of the "metalinguists," to use the name which Haugen had appropriately coined. Wells confined himself to the relatively limited field of phonemics; here, since the elements of selection are minimal, structuralist analysis has been applied with most success. He granted that "to ascertain the phonemic contrasts of a language without considering meaning would be a grotesquely inefficient method, which no one in his senses would propose" (much as Bernard Bloch in *Language*, XXIV, p. 5, "A Set of Postulates for Phonemic Analysis," admitted that an appeal to meaning, though not theoretically justified, is so convenient a short cut that "any linguist who refused to employ it would be very largely wasting his time").

But even on this terrain, Wells was not very convincing. He argued that the house of science contains many mansions, and a hypothesis can be tested in several theoretically equivalent ways: supposing that it is a clumsier and infinitely less efficient procedure to determine the phonemes of a language solely on the basis of distributional data, without recourse to meaning, still the structuralist is a free agent and can pick his own methods. "Some people," he added approvingly, "believe that the expressions of language do admit of being studied in complete and rigorous abstraction from all facts about the contents of those expressions, and these people call the science that studies these things 'linguistics' and believe that linguistics in this sense is worth studying."

By "some people"—invidious term!—is meant the more intransigent fringe of the structuralists, whether American or foreign. One



has only to open *An Outline of English Structure* by George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr. (*S.L.O.*, Occasional Papers, 3 [Norman, Oklahoma, 1951]), to find the exclusion of meaning raised to a dogma. It is perhaps of incidental interest that this pamphlet, described none too modestly by its authors (p. 3) as "a description of English that will be acceptable as the best currently available," did give a very satisfactory account of American English phonemes, albeit in the dry-as-dust manner dear to the structuralist heart. In morphemics, the authors showed to poorer advantage; and in dealing with stylistics and related matters, they were completely at sea. If this be "linguistics" in the particular sense commended by Wells, one perceives how extraordinarily difficult it is for a rigorous structuralist to come to grips with really subtle distinctions, once the factor of meaning has been excluded. In passing, it is noteworthy that Trager and Smith are troubled by an occupational malady endemic in most native structuralists—unreadability. *An Outline of English Structure* runs true to type by perpetuating a tradition of muddy prose.

By way of transition, we may remark that Brøndal and Hjelmslev also seem to have affected a dense and difficult style, although for a different reason. The American "metalinguists" have implicitly imitated the social sciences. In their Danish confrères, the techniques, and consequently the style, are patterned more on the mathematical sciences.

In his preface to the book under discussion, Brøndal indicated a particular debt to his earlier scientific and philosophical studies. As we might have expected, his linguistic lineage can be traced to Saussure and the Prague school. It is probably by design that Hjelmslev's name never occurs in the book. On the other hand, the use of the English phrase "the meaning of meaning" (p. ix) makes one wonder whether the book of that title by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards should not have figured in the bibliography.

To a reader unversed in modern logic, including the present reviewer, the general theme of this study is clear enough though its elaboration is often obscure. In an earlier work (*Essais de linguistique générale* [Copenhagen, 1943], p. x) Brøndal had set himself the task of discovering "dans le langage les concepts de la logique, tels qu'ils ont été élaborés par la philosophie depuis Aristote jusqu'aux logiciens modernes." This means, as Maurice Leroy noted recently ("Tendances au doctrinarisme dans la pensée linguistique contemporaine" in *Mélanges Georges Smets* [Bruxelles, 1952], p. 52), that he has tried to "expliquer les grands faits de la structure morphologique en ramenant les catégories qui en sont l'expression à des relations fondamentales s'ordonnant dans des cadres bien arrêtés." Here it is the concept of relation which concerned him particularly, since he held the view that the class of prepositions was sufficiently defined (p. 11) as expressing relation in general. In the course of his development of this theme, he has singled out some eleven types of relations (pp. 29-37), of which the most pertinent to his discussion are symmetry, transitivity, and connexity. Much in the spirit of Bertrand Russell's investigation of the articles and indefinite pronouns (p. 30), Brøndal tried to show that a preposition can be

defined uniquely in terms of these categories. Furthermore, he argued that the prepositions of a given language formed a system (p. 51); here, psychological factors place a limitation on the number of imaginable relations represented by separate prepositions. Samples of such systems for various languages are to be found in schematic form in an appendix (pp. 133-40). Brøndal has indicated various criteria which can be applied to such a system—its degree of differentiation and tension, its center of gravity, and so on. Within the framework of his categories he has sought to deal even with minute and troublesome differentiations of prepositions (e. g., Italian *tra* and *fra*). He suggested, moreover, that whole systems can be profitably compared with useful results (p. 63): Vulgar Latin and Greek show surprising similarities; Spanish and Catalan show equally surprising dissimilarities. He even asserted (pp. 102-7) that the substratum theory could be tested by comparisons of this sort. The book is rounded off with some reflections on linguistic change (pp. 108-21); for Brøndal, any linguistic system contains elements of disharmony within itself, but these cannot begin to operate until external forces are also brought to bear: "L'impulsion qui mène à un changement doit donc nécessairement venir du dehors, éventuellement d'une autre langue" (p. 117).

The summary just given, while sketchy enough, does not do too much violence to the book, if Brøndal's work be regarded from the vantage point of a linguist rather than from that of a logician or even a linguistic philosopher. From our own admittedly limited point of view it is clear that this variety of linguistic analysis cannot be applied to linguistic materials except by an adept in symbolic logic. This is a great deal to ask of most practicing linguists. For most of us, that realm whose Bible is the *Principia Mathematica* is blocked off by inaccessible cliffs, like Virtue in the well-known poem of Simonides. Brøndal will not find many disciples in his attempt to harness language and logic.

Nevertheless, however one may value Brøndal's theoretical aims and the highly specialized techniques employed to achieve them, his linguistic material in itself inspires certain misgivings. There is no gainsaying Brøndal's solid grounding in linguistics; still, he was not primarily a linguist, and in the ensuing remarks, the reviewer has listed some of the particular points which appear faulty.

First, a matter of definition. According to Brøndal, prepositions are characteristic of languages of "our family and more generally of our civilization, e. g. of Egyptian" (p. 1; similarly, on p. 18 prepositions are termed "characteristic of languages of our civilization, e. g. Indo-European, Semitic, and Egyptian"). Brøndal was evidently under no compulsion to adopt the concepts of a Spengler or a Toynbee, but still, in what sense are Egyptian and Semitic "languages of our civilization"? For Brøndal, prepositions are "a logical instrument acquired only at a relatively advanced stage of civilization" (p. 18), and he would not admit that Turkish or Finno-Ugric possessed true prepositions (p. 19).

Yet the criteria adduced by Brøndal to exclude Finnish prepositions from consideration would apply with equal force to the older Indo-European languages, where post-position is frequent (cf. Lat.

*mēcum*; Umb. *tota-per*), and situative, i. e. adverbial, use of prepositions a commonplace (see the standard handbooks for Vedic and Homeric usage).

Brøndal's argument, that a linguistic system changes only under the stress of external influence, is most difficult to support precisely wherever prepositions are concerned. Despite his claims to the contrary (pp. 117-18), borrowing of prepositions from one language to another is a fairly unusual phenomenon.

The charts of prepositional systems (pp. 133-40) show few errors in form (Rum. *fară* here and elsewhere in the text should be *fără*; the Russian prepositions might better appear in the new spelling). But in several cases the charts are based on a serious fault, the confusion of several dialects or periods of a language under discussion. For example, the schema entitled "Albanian" is worked up from Gustav Weigand's *Albanesische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1913): Weigand's book, however, described a particular Geg dialect (that of Elbasan). The Albanian prepositions vary widely from dialect to dialect. In place of the forms cited by Brøndal (*ne*, *prej*, *afër*), the written language of today offers *në*, *nga*, and (in the sense of It. *presso*) *pranë*.

Again, in his Latin chart, presumably based on classical Latin, is it fair to include the preposition *penes*? Ernout and Meillet note of this word in their etymological dictionary that it is "rare, et de couleur archaïque." The same question arises in the table for Ancient Greek—presumably grounded on Attic Greek: *ἀνέυ* appears in its proper place, and while we would not expect to find *ἀτερ*, still we look vainly for *χωρίς*, which is well-attested (and was later to drive *ἀνέυ* from the field—see E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, p. 546).

These indications, which could be multiplied, suggest to the reviewer that Brøndal's charts are incomplete or require a vast amount of correction and amplification. The comparison of one linguistic system with another, when both are reduced to this diminutive format, is always an absorbing parlor diversion, but its probative power must then be confirmed by other evidence. In particular, the controversy which rages over the substratum theory may not be resolved in so off-hand a fashion.

GORDON M. MESSING.

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Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson. Edited by P. R. COLEMAN-NORTON. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. xiii + 373. \$5.00.

No less than twenty-three distinguished scholars contributed to this impressive volume of studies in honor of Allan Chester Johnson. Their articles are arranged as far as possible in chronological order beginning with C. H. Coster's "The Economic Position of Cyrenaica in Classical Times" and ending with a paper by Peter Charanis entitled, "The Aristocracy of Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century."

Foreign contributors include J. G. Milne, André Piganiol, Michael Grant, Ronald Syme, M. P. Charlesworth, Harold Mattingly, and Andreas Alföldi. It is interesting, but hardly surprising, to discover that more than half the papers in this volume are numismatic, epigraphic, or papyrological in content.

Opinion with regard to the value of individual contributions to this volume will no doubt vary. Some of the papers, even though they lead to no world-shaking conclusions, must nevertheless arouse the greatest admiration by reason of the deft workmanship displayed by their authors. Especially notable is H. C. Youtie's reinterpretation of the so-called Heidelberg Festival Papyrus, long presumed to contain "a list of festival days on which a priest participated in sacred processions." Youtie puts the matter in quite a different light: the papyrus is shown to be a record kept by a master craftsman setting forth the work performed by an apprentice and a list of the latter's absences because of illness, attendance at festivals, and the like. Also in this category is Syme's "Tacfarinas, the Musulamii, and Thubursicu" in which he very neatly demonstrates, among other things, that Thubursicum Numidarum (Khamissa) rather than Tubusuctu (Tiklat) is the "Thubuseum" mentioned by Tacitus in *Ann.*, IV, 24, 1.

The paper which will probably arouse the most general interest is Charlesworth's resurvey of Roman trade with India especially in view of the publicity given the new finds by the American lecture tour of R. E. Mortimer Wheeler last year. One of the most significant contributions to this volume is "New Evidence on Temple Estates in Asia Minor" by T. R. S. Broughton in which it is concluded that the temple estates were augmented rather than diminished during the Hellenistic and Roman periods; thus, the long accepted view that Hellenistic kings followed a policy of breaking up the estates is found to be untenable.

Of the six papers dealing with numismatic subjects, the non-specialist will no doubt find Alföldi's "Initials of Christ on the Helmet of Constantine" most interesting, but there is a very fine article by Milne on silver and bronze coinages of the Hellenistic period, and Mattingly advances some novel ideas with regard to the currency of the late third century of this era in his "Clash of the Coinages."

All things considered, one may say that this volume is highly successful and a fitting tribute to the great scholar in whose honor it is published.

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CONSTANTINE VOURVERIS. *Classical Philology as an Intellectual Science* (in Greek). Athens, 1952. Pp. 112. \$2.70.

Constantine Vourveris, former student of Professor Werner Jaeger (now of Harvard) at the University of Berlin, and currently Professor of Greek and Dean of the Faculty of the School of Philosophy at the University of Athens, embodies in the form of a

book what was a series of lectures given in the academic year 1951-52 as a regular course at the University of Athens, entitled "Classical Philology as an Intellectual Science." Vourveris' avowed purpose in publishing this series of lectures is to fill a need in Greek bibliography. Vourveris believes that he answers certain questions that are basic for every classical philologist and intellectual: (1) What is the meaning of classical philology and what is the task of the philologist? (2) What is the position and character of philology in the field of ancient studies and of the intellectual sciences in general? (3) What is the methodology of philology and what is the meaning of philological interpretation? (4) What is the social role of classical philology in the life of man?

The division of the book is arranged in accordance with the preceding questions. Vourveris uses an essentially Jaegerian philosophical approach to these problems. His book is written in flowing "puristic" Greek of which he is a fervent supporter. The book falls into three main parts, of which the first is entitled "The Essence of Classical Philology." In this section, Vourveris ably discusses the problem of the definition and subject matter of classical philology, and what he verbosely terms the "historical-phenomenological view" as opposed to the "systematic-ousiologically-deontological view." In this same section, the author discusses the intellectual character of philology, the task of philology and its scientific classification, the nature and character of the intellectual sciences, one of which is classical philology, intellectual and physical phenomena, the difference in subject matter and methodology in the intellectual and natural sciences, and the essence of interpretation as a means of dealing with intellectual phenomena in general.

The second main division of the book deals with philological interpretation. It is split up into three general parts, covering (1) the monuments of the written word; (2) the premises of philological interpretation, which Vourveris says include a knowledge of Greek and Latin, a trustworthy series of texts, a knowledge of the historical period in which the work of literature was produced, and a knowledge of the personal factors involved in the production of the literary work; (3) the theory of philological interpretation, including interpretation of form ("formalism"), interpretation of content ("realism"), interpretation by translation and the problem of translation, analytic and synthetic interpretation, the unity of a work of interpretation, and the life of a work of art.

The third main portion of *Classical Philology* deals with the relation of classical philology to life. The contributions of classical philology, in this respect, are twofold: (1) it plays a purely scientific role by contributing to knowledge and truth, and to the progress of modern scholarship; (2) the second role of classical philology is social and educational: it brings to society and the public the classical authors who first and alone comprehended the highest values of life. The classical philologist relates the experiences of the past to modern life. In the last portion of the book, Vourveris discusses the typology of the classical philologist, philology as humanistic *paideia*, and finally concludes the book with a passionate plea for the establishment of an Institute of Greek Humanistic Studies in Greece.



The book is a noble effort in Greek scholarship. It is an honest, capable attempt to explain and justify classical philology, and deserves to be looked at by all those who profess interest in classical studies, humanities, and literature. Some may find that the author's chief weakness lies in the use of a great many complex terms that eventually turn out to mean quite simple things, a tendency unfortunately quite prevalent in all fields of scholarship.

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Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson. Edited by GEORGE E. MYLONAS. St. Louis, Eden Publishing House, 1951. Pp. lix + 876; 111 plates. \$25.00.

I think the Homeric epithet most fittingly applied to Professor Robinson is *indefatigable*. The present volume presented to him on his seventieth birthday lists, after the biographical sketch, the masters and doctors who received their degrees under his guidance, his published writings and reviews. As teacher, as scholar, as editor of learned studies, as excavator, as officer in classical organizations, he has displayed an energy and unflagging enthusiasm which are rarely equalled. A volume of a thousand pages comprised of articles by leading scholars in America and half a dozen and more countries of Europe is no unworthy tribute to such a leader. Yet this is but half, for a second volume will appear shortly dealing with subjects not covered by the one hundred and five articles in Volume I. Truly the work is appropriately cast in an heroic mold.

The *Festschrift* has certain advantages. The writers are allowed to choose their own topics and within limits to present as much or as little as they desire. It gives opportunity, therefore, for the note such as the suggestion of a word in the Cretan inscriptions by C. D. Ktistopoulos, or the valuable collection of material on ancient Cretan dances by L. B. Lawler. The span of time and place is exemplified by the conjecture of H. P. L'Orange that the form of the round Viking castles at Trelleborg and Aggersborg is related to the round camps and cities of the Arabs. Thus a late northern European ground plan is traced back ultimately to the Sassanians and Assyrians. Present and future are considered by Karo's article dealing with restorations on the Acropolis.

More personal than the periodicals and the yearly volumes of *Studies*, the volume gives opportunity for each scholar to present his special interest. Just the broad topics allocated to the present volume: prehistoric Greece, Egypt and the Near East, architecture, topography, sculpture, monumental painting and mosaics (as opposed to vase painting, coins, inscriptions, literature, history, the private life of Greeks and Romans, mythology, religion, philosophy, and miscellaneous objects relegated to the second volume), show the breadth of the board and the variety of the fare. The Roman fort at the mouth of the Rhine is discussed by Oelmann, the Sumerian

school by S. N. Kramer. Very appropriately W. A. McDonald deals with one of Robinson's famous discoveries, the house of *Agathe Tyche* at Olynthus. His suggestion that the building may be an inn is most interesting though it brings a shudder to those of us who regarded this establishment as the finest example of fourth-century Greek home.

Naturally and fortunately, it seems to me, the largest number of articles are concentrated on Greece and Italy and Crete, with Rome and Athens receiving the major attention. I say fortunately, for, as scholarly interests become more and more subdivided, it seems valuable to return occasionally and repeatedly to the fountain heads of classical culture. Dinsmoor presents a penetrating analysis of the periods in the fifth-century theatre at Athens, Stevens explains the porous tripod blocks on the Acropolis, Schuchhardt reconstructs parts of the Parthenon frieze. Attic bronze mirrors are treated by S. P. Karouzou, an Attic grave relief is described by H. N. Fowler and the grave relief of an Athenian poet by T. B. L. Webster. Naturally it is impossible to list all the articles which deal with subjects related to Athens and its culture or even all that are concentrated in Athens itself.

It would be hazardous in the extreme to attempt to pick out the most valuable of the studies. To comment learnedly on all would tax the breadth of knowledge of a David M. Robinson himself. Most startling, I found, was the suggestion of Gjerstad that the *agger Tullius* should be allocated to the first half of the fifth century and that the era of the Roman Republic did not begin until the middle of the fifth century. This fitted rather well with the article by Sjöqvist, "Pnyx and Comitium," in which it was suggested that the Roman place of assembly was not laid out until 450 B. C. and was based on the plan of the Pnyx. On the face of it, as Gjerstad remarks, it seems difficult to believe that Rome should be free from Etruscan control during the first quarter of the fifth century when Etruria was at the peak of her development, and at the time when the ford across the Tiber at Rome would be most important to her empire.

J. D. S. Pendlebury, whose death in the war brought irreparable loss to Cretan archaeology, has a most valuable article on Cretan chronology ("Egypt and the Aegean") in which he suggests the Neolithic period in Crete should go down to 3000 B. C., sometime in the second dynasty of Egypt. He still assigns eight hundred years to the Early Minoan period but does not feel there is really material enough to fill these centuries and suggests that perhaps the Egyptian date of Menes should be brought down to 3000 B. C. From Crete also comes a new contribution in the form of a bull's head rhyton of olive-green mottled steatite even finer, according to Seltman, than the famous black Knossian head discovered by Evans.

Pendlebury incidentally returned to Evans' theory that the Greeks overthrew the Cretan power at the beginning of the Mycenaean period (still placed at 1400 B. C.) and suggested the overthrow was reflected in the Greek story of Theseus and the Minotaur. If the Cretan power remained after the expedition of Theseus, it seems strange, indeed, that the final overthrow should not have been re-

flected in Greek myth. On the other hand, the Theseus story, as it stands, is clearly an account of a daring venture and almost miraculous escape, not of a successful and devastating attack. I mention it because Albright's interesting article on the eastern Mediterranean in the eleventh century calls to mind the tremendous raids of the Sea Peoples on Egypt in the second half of the second millennium. It was a Mycenaean but non-Greek speaking people from Asia Minor, Albright believes, who inhabited the coast of Palestine about 1200 B. C. and who twice by boat attacked Egypt savagely though unsuccessfully. Pendlebury states that all the important towns in Crete: Knossos, Phaestos, Palaikastro, Mochlos were destroyed at the same time. Many of the Cretan artisans fled to Egypt. I suggest that an attack from Asia Minor by boat would be easier against Crete than from Greece, and such an attack would account for the lack of story or at least of an echo of the catastrophe in Greece. Furthermore, the more we study Mycenaean Greece, the less likely it seems that Greece was strong enough in 1400 B. C. to launch a large-scale expedition. Perhaps the myth in Crete that Minos led an expedition to Sicily and Italy from which he never returned reflected his retreat from Crete and the choice of the West rather than Greece recognized the growing strength of Mycenae.

Bérard desires to reverse the present tendency to reduce the dates of past events by raising the Dorian invasion to 1200 B. C. or earlier, partly on the basis of evidence in Tarsus. This is particularly hazardous in view of the fact that excavations both in Troy and Palestine tend to confirm the traditional date of the fall of Troy.

Mylonas makes out a very good case, I think, for the belief that there were no regular cults of the dead in Mycenaean times except at Mycenae (could it be at Mycenae a sort of deified emperor type?). I should like to suggest, however, that burning the relics from an early burial to make room for a second would not be likely to cause the spirit of the first occupant to remain, but rather send the offerings to the land beyond whither the soul had already departed. This might constitute a first step toward cremation of the body; at least make the transition to cremation easier. The late Geometric cults in the *dromoi* of ancient tombs probably derive less from the need to immortalize a leader than to propitiate the earth spirits of the dead or perhaps the hostile soul of one whose lands have been taken.

Three articles were of particular interest to me because they threw new light on phases of my present investigations. Hanfmann remarks in his "Prehistoric Sardis" that the alleged emigration of the Etruscans from Lydia to Italy receives more support from linguistics and general considerations than from the archaeological material found in Lydia. I believe the evidence is mounting that we must look to southwest Asia Minor, Cyprus, and to northern Syria for the origins of the Etruscans. E. v. Mercklin traces the evolution of the capital with Hathor head in Egypt and shows its later influence in Cyprus and Rome. This strong Egyptian tradition explains best, I believe, both the capitals of the Hauran adorned with heads and the Corinthian capitals with heads found in the Michigan excavations at Seleucia. In Karouzou's excellent and most valuable

account of Attic bronze mirrors, he contrasts by chance the volute capital decoration with the barbarous variation of the Seythians, the incurving crescent representing opposing animal heads and horns. It reminds me that the famous *antennae* swords of Hallstatt may have antecedents among the northern nomads, where the incurving crescent is at home, as well as among Cyprians who carried the lotus with incurving sepals as the crowning element in their sacred tree. Perhaps I should mention also Childe's grouping of neolithic Greece with the East rather than the North or with Egypt on the basis of the evidence for the use of the sling to the exclusion of the bow. These personal chance interests illustrate the wealth of material in the volume's mine of information.

Perhaps the greatest drawback to independent volumes of studies such as this is that the book lies apart on the shelf and the articles may consequently be neglected. The excellent index of the present work remedies this in part and certainly in this generation there will be few who will forget Professor Robinson or overlook the volumes presented on his seventieth birthday.

It is the pleasurable duty of the reviewer to express his opinions on the basis of evidence collected by the authors. Even this can go too far! I welcome this opportunity to felicitate Professor Robinson on his seventieth birthday, and to congratulate him on the tremendous achievements of his fifty years and more of archaeology since he first entered the American School in Athens in 1901. Nor must I neglect to express my sincere admiration to the editor for his excellent presentation of this monumental volume.

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JEAN GAGÉ. Huit recherches sur les origines italiques et romaines. Paris, E. de Boccard, 1950. Pp. 252. 750 fr.

The eight essays of M. Gagé's book concern basic questions in the story of primitive Italy: the possible connection of the Lemnian stele with Etruscan history, the interpretation of the Iguvine tablets, the basis of the legendary immigration from the Troad into central Italy, the stories centering about the Gallic sack of Rome, the archaic inscription of the Comitium, etc. The book, which is well-indexed, is rich in suggestion because of the wealth of material assembled from historians, linguists, archaeologists, and anthropologists. Furthermore, I applaud the basic premises that the composite and polyglot culture of central Italy must be regarded always against the background of its motley origins; that Rome, being a late foundation, may be far more frequently than is generally recognized the borrower rather than the lender of customs and beliefs; that the Etruscans, if they came to Italy from the East, can hardly have appeared all at the same time from the same place. However, the promises of the foreword and the learned author's previous reputation do not prepare the reader for the disappointment of finding the method faulty and the conclusions unconvincing. As one instance

out of many, let us consider the so-called funeral ritual of Caere (p. 15) with which Gag  begins his exposition of the Lemnian stele. There was a story (Hortensius in Servius, *ad Aen.*, VIII, 485-8) that "Etruscan" pirates put their captives to death by binding them to corpses and leaving them to waste away (p. 17). There is nothing to associate the practice specifically with Caere except the exiled Caeretan tyrant Mezentius in *Aeneid*, VIII, 485 ff. Vergil has taken a short cut to indicate the extent of the latter's cruelty and depravity by accusing him of an Etruscan atrocity of which the Roman public had already been informed when the *Aeneid* was written. The poet accomplishes his purpose, but as historical evidence that such an act ever occurred in Caere, the passage in the *Aeneid* is worthless. There is even less reason to suppose that wherever it was practised it had any ritual meaning. Next we are asked to accept the identity of this hypothetical "rite fun raire" with the famous stoning of Phocaeans on the beach at Caere (Herod., I, 167): "La 'lapidation' des prisonniers a du faire partie de ce rituel d'extermination." What possible connection can there be between a good clean death by stoning and the horrors of the method described above? Similar leaps in logic are frequent throughout the work (cf. Ratumena and the "eph bes-cavaliers" of pp. 79-86). What the author claims to be a "rigoureuse analyse d'une filiation n cessaire" (p. 14) will, I fear, appear to many readers a series of unwarranted assumptions with no better starting point than questionable etymologies (cf. *perduellium*, pp. 32, 34; *aequimaelium*, p. 158; *bipennis*, p. 136). Archaeology is slowly providing us with concrete evidence: it has recently shown that the Veientine temple Gag  assumes (p. 75) to be that of the Pythian Apollo belongs to Minerva. Actual finds do not support the theory of immigration from the east into Umbria at the early period Gag  suggests (p. 216). Topographical relations are casually handled. Fidenae is not at the junction of the Tiber and the Anio (p. 175), but two miles away, a long distance in that country in prehistoric times. Moreover, a distinct community never mentioned by Gag , Antemnae, controlled the confluence point from the Stone Age, as we know from actual artifacts discovered there. June 24, the date of the *descensio Tiberina* of page 173 is not the time of the lowest water, which comes in August. Some sharp and useful observations such as that on Fors Fortuna (p. 173, note 3) and on the dependence of Roman cults on other towns (p. 176) stand out like honest rock ledges in a region of quicksands. While Roman religion is still so full of unexplained puzzles it is difficult to avoid building bridges of theory between the solid bits of evidence we find so rarely. Let us at least use for the piers of our bridges evidence which has actual physical existence or good traditional support. To build speculation on speculation can only result in an airy structure truly deserving of the name the Italians have so often given to bridges more marvelous than human works—"ponte del diavolo."

LOUISE ADAMS HOLLAND.



*Historia*, Vol. II, Fasc. 1. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1953.  
Pp. 128. DM 12; to subscribers DM 10.

In 1950 there appeared the first fascicle of a promising periodical, *Historia*, described as a quarterly for Ancient History. The editors were Gerold Walser (Basel) and Karl Stroheker (Tübingen). Since contributions from all over the world were invited, they were assisted by an international committee of historians, among whom the American representative was T. Robert S. Broughton, a wise choice indeed. However, there were difficulties, delays ensued, the fourth fascicle of vol. I did not appear until 1953, and a rumor spread that the periodical had failed. But *Historia*, II (1953), fasc. 1 shows that the periodical, now supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, is very much alive and will be indispensable in any library of Ancient History. The press and the publisher have been changed, while Hermann Bengtson (Würzburg), best known as the author of the excellent handbook, *Griechische Geschichte*, has been included among the editors.

The distinguished first issue of vol. II contains an article on Thucydides II 13, 3 by A. W. Gomme, one on the *comitia centuriata* by Ernst Schönbauer, and one on the accession of Antiochus IV by André Aymard. Furthermore, there are two reports, one by A. J. B. Wace on the history of Greece in the third and second millenniums B. C. and the other by W. Schleiermacher on the Roman Archaeology of the Rhineland; also Nesselhauf's review of De Laet's *Portorium*, and Spuler's summary of the articles which appear in the *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*.

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